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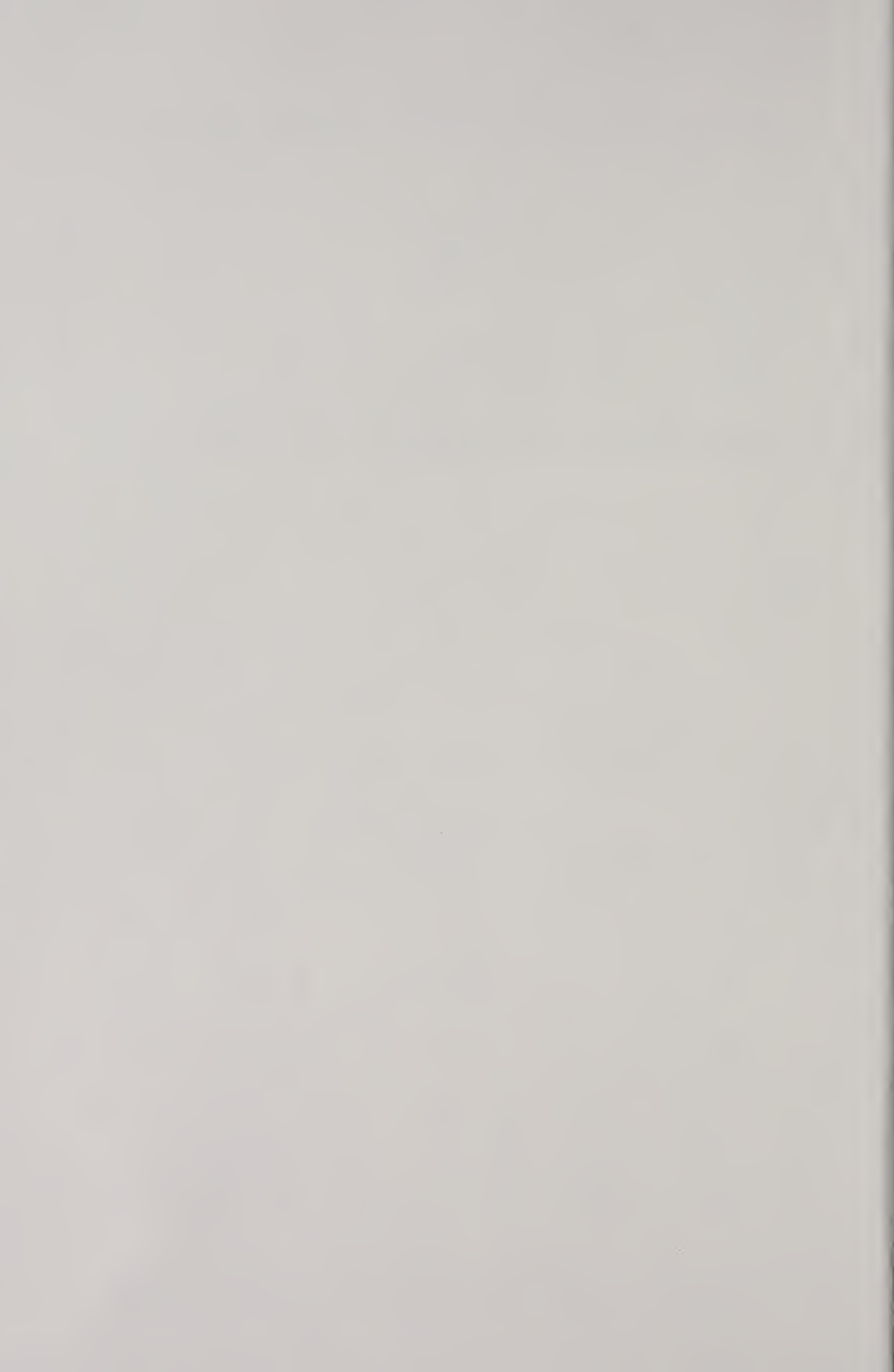
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CALVIN AND BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX



CALVIN AND BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

ANTHONY N.S. LANE



PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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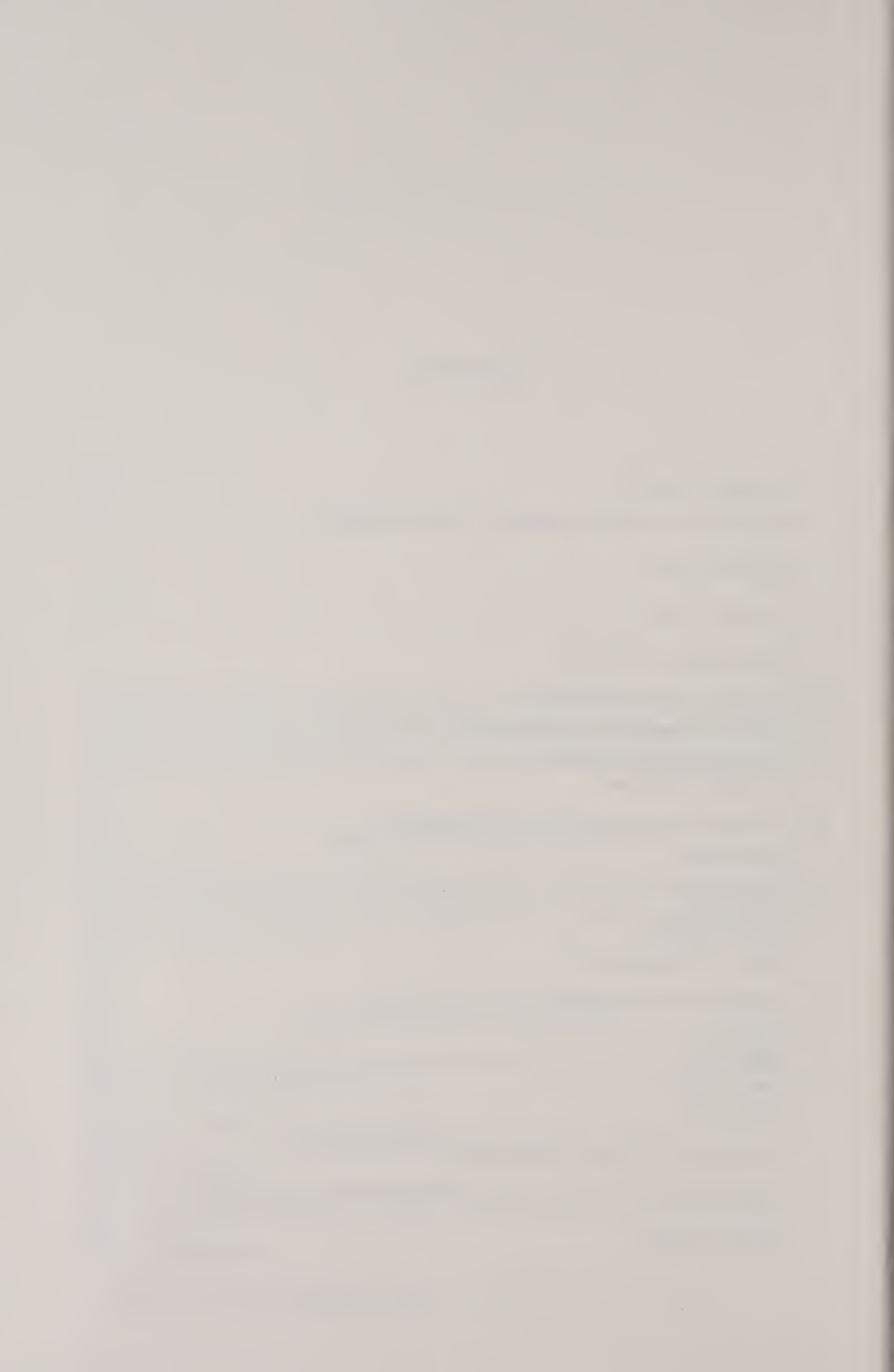
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Editor's Preface

St. Bernard's influence had become so widespread by the sixteenth century that it would be difficult to point to any figure or movement utterly devoid of the twelfth-century reformer's piety and language. Some were more affected by him than others, certain facets of his teaching and style were more prominent in some circles than others, and there were varying degrees of proximity to Bernard's own writings. That Calvin was among those heavily indebted to Bernard's influence is not news. How, in what instances, with what accuracy, and in what proportion to other medieval writers Calvin had learned from Bernard—these are matters worth continuing exploration. Professor Anthony N.S. Lane has, over the years, been a leader in this endeavor. This present monograph concisely summarizes some of Lane's most important research thus far and indicates the trajectories of further work to be done.

In his Foreword, Père Leclercq correctly calls our attention to the importance of Bernard's style of speaking and writing. He also calls our attention, again correctly, to the reforming efforts of these two figures who in differing social contexts were zealous for the Church. A further word might, however, be useful to underline the fact that both moved within and enhanced what, for want of a better term, we can call the prophetic mystical tradition. Neither of them belonged to that denomination of mysticism which eschews grappling with worldly issues in and outside the Church. For both, the mystic union with Christ as members of his body was a presupposition of piety, right worship, political action. One may well judge Bernard and Calvin to have been overly active in the social structures of their times. If indeed theirs was an error, it was erring on the side of societally transforming meddling, a meddling which is the direct and felicitous outgrowth of their prophetic mysticism.

David Willis

Foreword: Two Reformers

Bernard is very evident in the works of Calvin. Calvin often mentions him; thanks to Anthony Lane, we have precise information about the frequency of the references, their exact nature, in which works they occur, and to which of Bernard's writings they direct us. Yet Bernard had no very profound influence on Calvin's doctrine. How is this paradox to be explained?

There are different aspects of the one and same Bernard which present-day research allows us to distinguish—the Bernard of legend and of history, Bernard the churchman, the theologian, the mystic, to mention just a few. The one Calvin resorted to most was Bernard the writer. Bernard used his style as a writer in the service of his faith, his thought, his fervour, and his action. Bernard was a literary artist. Once again we are obliged to acknowledge that the reason he touched so many hearts among his contemporaries, and others in our own day, is that he had been endowed with an exceptional gift for writing. More than once during his lifetime he was asked to wield the pen in support of diverse causes: for the Crusade, the defence of the Christian faith in the face of the Cathars, the refutation of Abelard, and so on. Certain of his unforgettable formulas were used even after his death. Calvin was among those who availed themselves of such formulas. More than once, particularly in his conclusions, Professor Lane stresses the influence Bernard had on the verbal *expression* of Calvin's specific doctrines. However, the difference between the two men and their respective eras was too great for the first, a man of the middle ages, to have marked the second, a man of the sixteenth century, to any degree.

They were both reformers, each in his own day. Bernard is one of several representatives of a reforming trend which before, during, and after his time was prevalent within the traditional Church. When this move for reform became official, at the Council of Trent, the fathers of the Council turned to

Bernard's writings, just as Calvin had done. Reforming activities can be carried out at several different levels touching institutions, doctrines, morals, human behaviours and thus, individual persons.

It is perhaps not untrue to say that no one ever wrote with greater force against certain abuses—either possible or real—within the ecclesiastical apparatus than did Bernard in his *De consideratione*. And the message was heard: the greatest number of manuscripts of this treatise is to be found in the Vatican Library which has inherited from so many popes, cardinals, and others in the service of the Roman Curia. Bernard called for reform of institutions requiring no fundamental change in the doctrine on which they were based. He sought reform of institutions through reformation of the morals of all members of the Church. He sought not, however, reform of the Church itself. On the contrary, Bernard strengthened it, confirming it in the state in which it then was and such as it had been fashioned by eleven centuries of history. Through Bernard, the members of the Church were urged to conform more closely to what the Church should be. But, as a contemporary of Bernard, Peter the Venerable, said about Cluny, 'It is easier to do something new than to improve something old.' Bernard gave himself to this task with all the talent that was his.

So we have two reformers with two different approaches. Bernard and Calvin have in common too an aptitude for polemics. They select and use to their own ends texts that boost the theory or cause they are out to defend. Bernard sometimes used Holy Scripture or St. Augustine in support of what he had to say. Calvin, in his turn, did the same with Holy Scripture, Augustine, and Bernard. The two most outstanding reformers of the sixteenth century both exploited, independently of one another, the same sermon by St. Bernard, on the Annunciation, to illustrate their point.¹

Reformers and controversialists, Bernard and Calvin are both complex and sometimes so subtle that certain elements in their writings are still obscure and offer matter for ongoing research. One of the most delicate tasks being tackled today in various countries is an endeavour to translate Bernard's writings as exactly as possible into modern languages. Manifestly the meanings of so many of the words he uses are rooted in biblical, liturgical, and patristic traditions which, if not taken into consideration, are rendered senseless. There are now two tools that should help.

The first is the *Thesaurus Sancti Bernardi Claraevallensis*, a single volume resulting from the computerization of the works of St. Bernard and comprising

¹ F. Posset, 'Bernardus Redivivus: The *Wirkungsgeschichte* of a Medieval Sermon in the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century,' *Cistercian Studies* 22 (1987): 239–249.

a word concordance together with a set of microfiches which offers possibilities of infinite promise.² The second tool, the *Biblia Bernardina*, will enable an understanding of the different nuances of the scriptural quotations sifted out by Bernard's memory from the biblical, liturgical, patristic, and medieval traditions of the Church and which he further enriched by his own reflection. St. Bernard did not quote from one particular manuscript, even though it may have had a certain authority, nor did he use an official version, not even the Vulgate. He quoted Scripture as it was lived in the Church.

Four centuries separate Bernard and Calvin—four centuries of development of ideas, institutions, and the theories which both justified and criticized them all. Calvin goes further than Bernard in the sense that he attacks not only the system but also its theological justification. He even feels obliged³ to correct the biblical quotations or allusions used by Bernard in order to bring them into line with a *littera sola* which did not exist in twelfth-century minds.

Differences appear also in the conception and nomenclature of 'grace,' 'liberty,' 'justification,' and other realities that were central to Bernard's thought as well as to Calvin's, but in cultures distanced by centuries of evolution. One of the merits of Professor Lane's work is that he helps us measure the importance of the vocabulary, often so precise and so constant, used by St. Bernard and which the new *Thesaurus* enables us to study. Calvin did not have the benefit of this tool and he drew from Bernard's sentences what he could, or whatever he wanted.

Was Bernard really opposed to the then nascent scholasticism, or to canon law with which we now know him to have been well acquainted? In his times he was fully committed to the preoccupations of the Church of his generation, but deeply rooted in a tradition that lived on after him. It is understandable that Calvin, like Luther and others, felt he could appeal to Bernard as one of those 'fathers of the Church,' already ancient in the sixteenth century and who, today, are still relevant.

Jean Leclercq

² *Thesaurus Sancti Bernardi Clarnavallensis*, curante CETEDOC, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis, Lovanii Novi (Brepols: Turnhout, 1988).

³ Cf. chapter 2, p. 25.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The second part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The third part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The fourth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The fifth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The sixth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The seventh part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The eighth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The ninth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself. The tenth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is argued that a knowledge of the history of the language is essential for a full understanding of the language itself.

Introduction

Bernard of Clairvaux was one of Calvin's favourite authors. He quotes him with growing appreciation over the years. But what drew Calvin to Bernard? What is there in common between the Catholic monk⁴ and the Protestant reformer? In fact, quite a lot.

There are similarities in their careers. Both men underwent a conversion in their early twenties which led them to devote themselves totally to a new course of life, whether that of a monk or that of a reformer. Neither was the founder of a movement, but both became the leaders of movements (the Cistercians and Reformed Protestantism), effectively eclipsing the original founders. Both claimed that they would have preferred quiet lives away from the public arena, but both were driven to a more active life. Both suffered from chronic ill health and experienced considerable pain, which must have affected their characters. Both were in their different ways austere and puritanical, though this was tempered by other sides of their characters.

Both men were concerned to commend the truth and recognized the importance of the manner in which it is presented. Good style was important for Bernard. This can be seen from the way some of his works were repeatedly revised, until they met his high standards. His major sermons are carefully crafted literary works designed to be read rather than preached. Calvin's humanist training left him also with an abiding concern for style. In his works he seeks not just to inform but to enlighten, persuade, and move the reader. Although it was not Bernard's style that originally drew Calvin to him, by the end of his career he could quote Bernard simply because he liked the way he had expressed something.

Obviously Calvin's appreciation of Bernard has much to do with the latter's

⁴ In recent years there has been increasing interest in Bernard the *person*. Cf., e.g., J. Leclercq, *A Second Look at Saint Bernard* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990) and M. Casey, 'Bernard of Clairvaux: The Face Behind the Persona,' *Cistercian Studies* 27 (1992): 133–151, which attempts to characterize Bernard as a Myers-Briggs type.

teaching. Apart from the specific topics to be considered below, some general points may be mentioned. Calvin liked Bernard because his theology remained faithful to Augustine in a way that was not true of many later medieval theologians. Related to this, Bernard is perhaps the greatest representative of the pre-scholastic medieval monastic theology. (But on the other hand, Calvin never made use of Bernard's writings against Peter Abelard.) Finally, Bernard's writings are thoroughly biblical, in the sense that they are soaked in biblical allusions and phraseology.⁵ In the critical edition of Bernard's works it is not at all unusual for there to be more than one biblical reference every other line. One way to trace a theme in Bernard's works is via the Bernard concordance. Another is to follow up the allusions to the particular biblical passages to which he regularly alludes when treating that theme. Bernard's handling of the Bible was very different from Calvin's, but his immersion in it and the way it pervades his writings must have appealed to Calvin.

What does the present volume set out to do? In essence, three things. First, Calvin's use of Bernard is examined. There are other studies that speculate on Calvin's relationship to Bernard while largely ignoring the way Calvin explicitly cited him.⁶ This volume, by contrast, is based firmly on the solid evidence of Calvin's explicit use of Bernard. Second, Calvin's interpretation of Bernard is assessed. Does Bernard actually support Calvin in the ways that he claimed? This question is of more than antiquarian interest. For Calvin the issue was the historical continuity of the Reformed Church with the Early Church. Bernard was cited as evidence that the true faith had not died out during the Middle Ages. Modern Protestant theologians will approach this question differently from Calvin, but the question itself remains relevant and important. Third, the possibility of Bernard's influence upon Calvin is considered. Here the aim is to keep to what may reasonably be established on historical grounds, not to indulge in speculative imagination.

'Elephants breed faster.' Erasmus records this proverbial judgement on scholars who are tardy in publishing their work.⁷ The present volume certainly warrants such a stricture. The main work for it was done from 1970 to 1973 while I was a research student at Cambridge University. In a form substantially similar to that which here appears, it was submitted in 1982 as part of an Oxford University research degree. Further revisions took place in 1990 and in 1995. Thus the basic thesis was developed in the early 1970s and the

⁵ Cf. H. Rochais and J. Figuet, 'Le jeu biblique de Bernard,' *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 47 (1985): 119-128.

⁶ For further details, cf. chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 9-15).

⁷ Erasmus, *Adages*, 1:9:11, R. A. B. Mynors, ed., *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 32 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 183f.

basic structure was determined in the early 1980s. In the subsequent revisions account has been taken of more recent literature, such discussion usually being restricted to the footnotes. No significant change in the argument of the thesis is involved.

With a project that spans a quarter of a century there are naturally many people to be thanked for their help. T.H.L. Parker was my supervisor for much of the time at Cambridge and has been an ongoing source of guidance and encouragement. David Wright, Peter Fraenkel, and Irena Backus have also been very generous over many years in offering help and encouragement. I have twice spent periods of study at the Meeter Center of Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and have been surprised that the photocopier has survived my stays. Rick Gamble, Peter de Klerk, and other staff have been most kind and helpful. On the Bernard side I have, like so many other scholars, benefitted more than can be said from the kindness, generosity, and encouragement of Jean Leclercq, from our first meeting in 1970 to his death in 1993. I have also made three most useful visits to the library and especially the Bernard concordance of the Achelse Kluis which is (literally!) on the Dutch-Belgian border. Particular thanks are due to Ildefons Majoor, Edmund Mikkers, and Vincent Hermans for their assistance with this.

Defective memory and limitations of space must suffice as an excuse for not naming the many others who have helped over the years. But one more debt is gladly acknowledged. This volume is dedicated to the late Freddie Barker and his widow Myrtle to whose kindness and influence during my childhood I owe an immense debt. Their gift to me, for my twenty-first birthday, of a copy of Calvin's *Institutes* was a factor which has led ultimately to the publication of this volume.

Anthony N.S. Lane

Abbreviations

<i>Abael</i>	<i>Epistola de erroribus Abaelardi</i>
<i>Adv</i>	<i>Sermo in adventu Domini</i>
<i>Ann</i>	<i>Sermo in annuntiatione domini</i>
<i>Apo</i>	<i>Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem</i>
<i>Asc</i>	<i>Sermo in ascensione domini</i>
<i>Bapt</i>	<i>Epistola de baptismo</i>
BO	J. Leclercq et al. (eds.), <i>Sancti Bernardi Opera</i> (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–1977)
CO	G. Baum, E. Cunitz, and E. Reuss (eds.), <i>Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia</i> (Brunswick and Berlin: Schwetschke, 1863–1900)
<i>Comm.</i>	<i>Commentarius super</i>
<i>Csi</i>	<i>De consideratione</i>
CT	<i>Concilium Tridentinum. Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum Nova Collectio</i> , edidit Societas Goerresiana (Freiburg: Herder, 1901–1976)
<i>Ded</i>	<i>Sermo in dedicatione ecclesiae</i>
Denz.	H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer (eds.), <i>Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum</i> (Freiburg: Herder, 1967, 34th edition)
<i>Dil</i>	<i>De diligendo Deo</i>
<i>Div</i>	<i>Sermo de diversis</i>
DTC	A. Vacant, E. Mangelot, et al. (eds.), <i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i> (Paris: Letouzey and Ané, 1923–1950)
<i>Ep</i>	<i>Epistola</i>
<i>Gra</i>	<i>De gratia et libero arbitrio</i>

<i>Hum</i>	<i>De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Index Aureliensis. Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum</i> (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1965ff.)
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio Christianae Religionis</i>
<i>IV HM</i>	<i>Sermo in feria IV hebdomadae sanctae</i>
<i>I Nov</i>	<i>Sermo in dominica I novembris</i>
<i>JB</i>	<i>Sermo in nativitate sancti Ioannis Baptistae</i>
<i>KDE</i>	R. J. Mooi, <i>Het Kerk- en Dogmahistorisch Element in de Werken van Johannes Calvijn</i> (Wageningen: Veenman, 1965)
<i>LW</i>	J. Pelikan and H. T. Lehman (eds.), <i>Luther's Works</i> (Saint Louis, Concordia, and Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955–1976)
<i>Mal</i>	<i>Sermo in transitu sancti Malachiae episcopi</i>
<i>Mor</i>	<i>Epistola de moribus et officio episcoporum</i>
<i>Nat</i>	<i>Sermo in nativitate domini</i>
<i>O Pasc</i>	<i>Sermo in octava paschae</i>
<i>OS</i>	<i>Sermo in festivitate omnium sanctorum</i>
<i>OS</i>	P. Barth, et al. (eds.), <i>Johannis Calvini Opera Selecta</i> (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1926–1968, 1st, 3rd editions)
<i>Palm</i>	<i>Sermo in ramis palmarum</i>
<i>Par</i>	<i>Parabolae</i>
<i>Pasc</i>	<i>Sermo in die paschae</i>
<i>p Epi</i>	<i>Sermo in dominica I post octavam epiphanae</i>
<i>Pent</i>	<i>Sermo in die sancto pentecostes</i>
<i>Pl</i>	<i>Sermo in conversione sancti Pauli</i>
<i>PL</i>	J. P. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus . . .</i> (Paris: Migne, 1844–1855)
<i>PP</i>	<i>Sermo in festo sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i>
<i>Pre</i>	<i>De Praecepto et Dispensatione</i>
<i>Pur</i>	<i>Sermo in purificatione BVM</i>
<i>QH</i>	<i>Sermo super psalmum Qui habitat</i>
<i>Quad</i>	<i>Sermo in quadragesima</i>
<i>RESB</i>	J. Leclercq, <i>Recueil d'Études sur Saint Bernard et ses Écrits</i> (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1962–1992)
<i>SAOJC</i>	L. Smits, <i>Saint Augustin dans l'oeuvre de Jean Calvin</i> (Assen: van Gorcum, 1956 and 1958)

SBT	<i>Saint Bernard Théologien. Actes du Congrès de Dijon, 1953 (= Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis 9 [1953])</i>
SC	<i>Sermo super Cantica Canticorum</i>
Sent	<i>Sententiae</i>
Sept	<i>Sermo in septuagesima</i>
Tpl	<i>De laude novae militiae, ad milites templi</i>
Vict	<i>Sermo in natali sancti Victoris</i>
VI p P	<i>Sermo in dominica sexta post pentecosten</i>
V Mal	<i>Vita sancti Malachiae</i>
V Nat	<i>Sermo in vigilia nativitatis domini</i>
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe</i> (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883–1983)
WA Ti	<i>WA Tischreden</i>

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I

Scholarship to Date

Calvin was not unusual in appreciating Bernard. Bernard has had his admirers in every generation, not least in the time of the Reformation.⁸ Luther's use of Bernard has been extensively studied.⁹ When I first began to work on

⁸ For the influence of Bernard over the ages, cf. J. E. Bamberger, 'The Influence of St. Bernard,' *Cistercian Studies*, 25 (1990): 101–114; A. H. Bredero, *Bernhard von Clairvaux im Widerstreit der Historie* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1966), E.T.: 'St. Bernard and the Historians' in *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, M. B. Pennington, ed. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 27–62; J. Leclercq, *St. Bernard et l'esprit cistercien* (Paris: du Seuil, 1966), 109–145, E.T.: *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercian Spirit* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976), 95–118.

⁹ The main work on Luther and Bernard is T. M. M. A. C. Bell, *Bernhardus Dixit. Bernardus van Clairvaux in Martin Luthers Werken* (Delft: Eburon, 1989), which has appeared in a revised German translation: *Divus Bernhardus. Bernhard von Clairvaux in Martin Luthers Schriften* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993). It includes a survey of literature on Luther and Bernard. Apart from the works mentioned in his bibliography, the following additional items should be noted: T. M. M. A. C. Bell, 'Pater Bernardus. Bernard de Clairvaux vu par Martin Luther,' *Cîteaux* 41 (1990): 233–255 = 'Pater Bernhardus. Luthers Visie op Bernardus van Clairvaux,' which I have not seen, in *Luther-Bulletin* 1 (1993); idem, 'Testimonium Spiritus Sancti—An Example of Bernard-Reception in Luther's Theology,' *Bijdragen, Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie* 53 (1992): 62–72; idem, 'Der Mensch als Esel Christi,' *Luther. Zeitschrift der Luther-Gesellschaft* 65 (1994): 9–21; idem, 'Bernhard von Clairvaux als Quelle Martin Luthers,' *Bijdragen, Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie* 56 (1995): 2–18; D. W. Fijan, 'Bernard van Clairvaux en zijn Invloed op de Reformatie' in *Studio Studiosorum*, C. T. Boerke and C. M. Désirée de Vries-Hofland, eds. (Apeldoorn: Kerk-historisch Werkgezelschap, 1991), 9–24 (esp. 19–21); D. Knoch, 'Die Gnadenlehre Bernhards von Clairvaux im Lichte der Heiligen Schrift,' *Cistercienser Chronik* 85 (1978): 57–63; B. Lohse, 'Luther und Bernhard von Clairvaux' in *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Rezeption und Wirkung im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, K. Elm, ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 271–301; B. McGinn in *Bernard of Clairvaux, Treatises III* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977) (hereafter, McGinn, *Introduction*), 45–48; R. Mousnier, 'Saint Bernard and Martin Luther,' *American Benedictine Review* 14 (1963): 448–462 = E.T. of 'Saint Bernard et Luther' in *Saint Bernard Homme d'Église* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1953), 152–169; J.-N. Pères, 'Ou il est question de source et de rivière: saint Bernard et Martin Luther à propos du rapport de l'Église à l'Écriture,' *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 52 (1990): 299–306; F. Posset, 'Recommendations by Martin Luther of St.

Calvin's relationship to Bernard, in 1970, not much had been written on that subject. Since then there has been a steady stream of studies, exceeded in volume only by the studies of his relationship to Augustine and to Thomas Aquinas.¹⁰

The first serious study of Calvin's relation to Bernard appeared in 1960. In this, Georges Bavaud compared the teaching of Calvin, Thomas, and Bernard on the subject of grace and freewill.¹¹ This was followed in 1963 by Karl Reuter's *Das Grundverständnis der Theologie Calvins*.¹² Reuter maintains that Bernard was one of the greatest influences on Calvin, at least from the 1539 *Institutio*. A few years later, Farley Snell accepted Reuter's thesis and concluded on the basis of his own studies that Bernard was one of the most formative influences on Calvin's concept of righteousness.¹³ Similar conclusions were also reached by Tjarko Stadtland who declared that Bernard influenced Calvin's doctrine of justification, being 'Grundquelle des pneumatologisch gefassten, zentral tragenden unio-Gedankens bei Calvin'.¹⁴

Gilbert Rist, in his 1964 thesis, examined the theological method of Ber-

Bernard's *On Consideration*, *Cistercian Studies* 25 (1990): 25–36; idem, 'The Elder Luther on Bernard,' *American Benedictine Review* 42 (1991): 22–52, 179–201; idem, 'Divus Bernhardus: Saint Bernard as Spiritual and Theological Mentor of the Reformer Martin Luther' in *Bernardus Magister*, J. R. Sommerfeldt, ed. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications and Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 1992), 517–532; idem, 'Bernhard von Clairvauxs Sermonen zur Weihnachts-, Fasten- und Osterzeit als Quelle Martin Luthers,' *Luther Jahrbuch* 61 (1994): 93–116; M. B. Pranger, 'Perdite Vixi: Bernard de Clairvaux et Luther devant l'échec existentiel,' *Bijdragen, Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie* 53 (1992): 46–61; A. Ritschl, 'Lese Früchte aus dem heiligen Bernhard,' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 52 (1879): 317–335; R. Schwarz, 'Luther's Inalienable Inheritance of Monastic Theology,' *American Benedictine Review* 39 (1988): 430–450 = E.T. of 'Luthers unveräußerte Erbschaft an der monastischen Theologie' in *Kloster Amelungsborn 1135–1985*, G. Ruhbach and K. Schmidt-Clausen, eds. (Hannover: Missionshandlung Hermannsburg, 1985), 209–231. I have not managed to see I. Deug-Su, 'L'Imago Dei in San Bernardo di Clairvaux,' *Doctor Seraphicus* 37 (1990): 73–84; F. Posset, *Luther's Catholic Christology according to his Johannine Lectures of 1527* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1988); J. J. Siegmund, 'Bernhard von Clairvaux und Martin Luther. Ein erfahrungstheologischer Vergleich,' *Cistercienser Chronik* 98 (1991): 92–114. I have also not seen D. L. Akin, 'Bernard of Clairvaux: Evangelical of the 12th Century,' *Criswell Theological Review* 4 (1990): 327–350.

¹⁰ For an attempt at a complete list of the earlier literature available, cf. A. N. S. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals,' *Calvin Theological Journal* 16 (1981): 191–200.

¹¹ G. Bavaud, 'Les rapports de la grâce et du libre arbitre,' *Verbum Caro* 14 (1960): 328–338.

¹² K. Reuter, *Das Grundverständnis der Theologie Calvins* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963). This is discussed below, especially in chapters 2 and 4.

¹³ F. W. Snell, 'The Place of Augustine in Calvin's Concept of Righteousness' (Th.D. thesis, New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1968), 140–143, 203f., 220.

¹⁴ T. Stadtland, *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung bei Calvin* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), 46–48. In the original the entire quotation (p. 48) is italicized.

nard and Calvin, among others, with a minimal comparison of them.¹⁵ The following year, R. J. Mooi devoted a section to Bernard in his magisterial study of Calvin's use of historical material.¹⁶ This work contains little more than a summary of the contents of Calvin's citations, but is of immense value as a foundation for further study of Calvin's use of any patristic or medieval authors. Its value is seen most clearly in the shortcomings of those writers who have chosen to ignore it. Some years later Izaäk Boot, in a study of the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Solomon discussed Calvin's use of Bernard's sermons, with an assessment of the fidelity of his interpretation.¹⁷

In 1976 there appeared an article by the present writer which sought to trace the sources of Calvin's Bernardine citations.¹⁸ The updated conclusions of that study will be found below.¹⁹ The *Cistercian Fathers Series* translation of Bernard's *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, which appeared the following year, includes a brief discussion by the translator of Calvin's use of the treatise.²⁰ In 1978 Stanford Reid published a study of Bernard in Calvin's thought, but this consists mainly of a comparison of the two men rather than a study of Calvin's use of Bernard.²¹

Three further studies of Calvin and Bernard appeared in 1981. Jill Raitt published an article on Calvin's use of Bernard, which concentrates mainly on the question of the fidelity of Calvin's interpretation of Bernard in the *Institutio*.²² Reuter produced a further study claiming that Bernard was a major influence upon the early Calvin. In this book he seeks to meet some of the criticisms of his earlier work.²³ Finally, M. B. Pranger published an essay comparing Anselm, Bernard, and Calvin.²⁴

¹⁵ G. Rist, *Objet et méthode de la théologie* (Geneva: Faculté autonome de théologie protestante thesis, 1964), 135, 138.

¹⁶ R. J. Mooi, *Het Kerk- en Dogmahistorisch Element in de Werken van Johannes Calvijn* (Wageningen: Veenman, 1965), 320–327.

¹⁷ I. Boot, *De allegorische uitlegging van het Hooglied voornamelijk in Nederland* (Woerden: Zuijderlanddij, 1971), 102–108.

¹⁸ A. N. S. Lane, 'Calvin's Sources of St. Bernard,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 67 (1976): 253–283.

¹⁹ Cf. chapter 2, pp. 8–20.

²⁰ McGinn, *Introduction*, 48f. His account is briefly summarized by F. Callerot in Bernard de Clairvaux, *Œuvres Complètes*, vol. 29 (*Sources Chrétiennes* 393) (Paris: du Cerf, 1993), 222f.

²¹ W. S. Reid, 'Bernard of Clairvaux in the Thought of John Calvin,' *Westminster Theological Journal* 41 (1978–79): 127–145. An abridged adaptation is found in 'The Reformer Saint and the Sainly Reformer. Calvin and the Legacy of Bernard of Clairvaux,' *Christian History*, no. 24, 28f.

²² J. Raitt, 'Calvin's Use of Bernard of Clairvaux,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 72 (1981): 98–121.

²³ K. Reuter, *Vom Scholaren bis zum jungen Reformator* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981).

²⁴ M. B. Pranger, 'Masters of Suspense: Argumentation and Imagination in Anselm, Ber-

In 1982 the present writer submitted an unpublished work on Calvin's use of Bernard as part of his thesis for an Oxford University research degree.²⁵ The present volume is a revision of this. Five years later, in 1987, William Paulsell published an essay on 'The Use of Bernard of Clairvaux in Reformation Preaching.' This included a brief section summarizing some of Calvin's citations of Bernard.²⁶ The same year a brief study appeared comparing Bernard's and Calvin's sermons on Luke 2:15–20, to the disadvantage of the former.²⁷

The year 1990 saw a spate of studies on Calvin and Bernard. Dennis Tamburello submitted his doctoral thesis comparing Bernard and Calvin on the theme of mystical union with Christ.²⁸ This thesis, which has since been published,²⁹ concentrates upon comparison of Bernard and Calvin rather than, but not to the exclusion of, consideration of Calvin's use of Bernard. Tamburello's conclusions were reached independently of the present work and are in nearly total harmony with it. Some points of overlap will be noted below as they arise.

Nineteen ninety was also the year in which the 900th anniversary of Bernard's birth was celebrated. The present author gave papers at three gatherings where this was being celebrated. One of these examined the extent to which Bernard's doctrine of justification anticipated Calvin's.³⁰ A slightly more popular version of this paper was delivered at Ecumenical Day celebrated by the Cistercians in the (Reformed) cathedral of Lausanne in May of that year.³¹ The final paper was a more general study of Calvin's use of Bernard,

nard, and Calvin' in *Assays: Critical Approaches to Medieval and Renaissance Texts*, vol. 1, P. A. Knapp and M. A. Stugrin, eds. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981), 15–32.

²⁵ A. N. S. Lane, *Calvin's Use of Bernard of Clairvaux*, being part of a thesis submitted for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (Oxford, 1982). Copies are to be found at the Bodleian Library, Oxford and at the H. H. Meeter Center for Calvin Studies, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

²⁶ W. O. Paulsell, 'The Use of Bernard of Clairvaux in Reformation Preaching' in *Erudition at God's Service*, J. R. Sommerfeldt, ed. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987), 330–333.

²⁷ K. Exalto, 'Bernard en Calvijn over de herders te Bethlehem,' *De Waarheidsvriend* 75 (1987): 806–808.

²⁸ D. E. Tamburello, *Christ and Mystical Union: A Comparative Study of the Theologies of Bernard of Clairvaux and John Calvin* (Divinity School Ph.D. thesis, Chicago, 1990).

²⁹ D. E. Tamburello, *Union with Christ. John Calvin and the Mysticism of St. Bernard* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994). My review of this book is forthcoming in *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology*.

³⁰ A. N. S. Lane, 'Bernard of Clairvaux: A Forerunner of John Calvin?' in *Bernardus Magister*, Sommerfeldt, ed., 533–545.

³¹ A. N. S. Lane, 'Saint Bernard et Calvin,' in *Saint Bernard de Clairvaux*, J. Leclercq, R. Gen-ton and A. N. S. Lane, (Écublens: Église et liturgie, 1994), 25–38.

being effectively a briefer version of parts of the present volume.³² Also delivered as part of the celebrations was a paper by Camille Izard, which reviews the Bernardine citations in the *Institutio*.³³ Finally, at the 1990 meeting of the four-yearly International Congress on Calvin Research, Luke Anderson presented a seminar paper on the *Imago Dei* theme in Calvin and Bernard.³⁴

More recently, Vincent Brümmer has written an article on 'Calvin, Bernard and the Freedom of the Will' which has prompted a reply from Paul Helm and a rejoinder from Brümmer.³⁵ Brümmer's interpretation of Calvin is rightly criticized by Helm; his interpretation of Bernard will be criticized below.³⁶

³² A. N. S. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of Bernard of Clairvaux' in *Bernhard von Clairvaux*, Elm, ed. 303–332.

³³ C. Izard, 'Jean Calvin à l'Écoute de Saint Bernard,' *Études Théologiques et Religieuses* 67 (1992): 19–41.

³⁴ L. Anderson, 'The *Imago Dei* Theme in John Calvin and Bernard of Clairvaux' in *Calvinus Sacrae Scripturae Professor*, W. H. Neuser ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 178–198. Fijan, 'Bernard van Clairvaux,' 21–24, is a brief discussion of Calvin, drawn mainly from Reid, 'Bernard of Clairvaux.'

³⁵ V. Brümmer, 'Calvin, Bernard and the Freedom of the Will,' *Religious Studies* 30 (1994): 437–455; P. Helm, 'Calvin and Bernard on Freedom and Necessity: A Reply to Brümmer,' *Religious Studies* 30 (1994): 457–465; V. Brümmer, 'On not Confusing Necessity with Compulsion: A Reply to Paul Helm,' *Religious Studies* 31 (1995): 105–109.

³⁶ Cf. chapter 3, pp. 40, 42, 46. Brümmer also expounds on Bernard in his *The Model of Love* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), especially chapter 3.

II

Calvin's Use of Bernard

CALVIN'S ENGAGEMENT WITH BERNARD

Bernard of Clairvaux was one of Calvin's favourite medieval authors. From 1539 to 1559, that is, through the majority of his literary life, he referred to Bernard forty-one times, quoting from most of his major works.³⁷ Although this scarcely rivals the four-figure number of references to Augustine,³⁸ it does make Bernard one of the four medieval authors that Calvin regularly cites. The others are Gregory the Great, to whom Calvin often appeals, and Peter Lombard and Gratian whose books are cited less approvingly as the standard textbooks of theology and canon law.³⁹ Calvin's view of Bernard is significant both for his attitude toward the medieval church as a whole and as an example of his attitude toward one particular church father. His use of Bernard falls into five stages: 1539, the 1543 *Institutio*, 1543 to 1547, 1554 to 1557, and the 1559 *Institutio*. In this section we will survey this use, considering the sources of Calvin's knowledge of Bernard.⁴⁰

³⁷ Calvin's citations are listed in Appendix I and their text will be found in Appendix II. They will be referred to by their number in the Appendixes, i.e., c.I, c.XIVb, etc.

Luther referred to Bernard several hundreds of times. Zwingli and Beza very rarely mentioned him. Melancthon refers to the fathers far less often than Calvin and rarely mentions Bernard.

³⁸ R. J. Mooi, KDE, 6f. gives totals of 1708 and 67 for Augustine and Bernard, respectively. His method of counting citations differs from mine.

³⁹ Gregory, Lombard, and Gratian are cited 179, 89, and 138 times, respectively, according to Mooi (KDE, 396f.). On Gregory, cf. L. K. Little, 'Calvin's Appreciation of Gregory the Great,' *Harvard Theological Review* 56 (1963): 145-157. On Gratian, cf. P. Le Gal, *Le Droit Canonique dans la Pensée Dialectique de Jean Calvin* (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1984); M. Reulos, 'Le Décret de Gratien chez les Humanistes, les Gallicans et les Réformés français du XVIème Siècle,' *Studium Gratianum* 2 (1954): 692-696.

⁴⁰ This was considered in Lane, 'Calvin's Sources.' The conclusions of that article will here be summarized and, in places, revised.

1539

Unlike the other three medievals, Bernard is not mentioned in the first edition of the *Institutio*.⁴¹ He first appears in the 1539 edition, which was nearing completion in October 1538.⁴² Here he is once quoted disapprovingly, in a list of definitions of *liberum arbitrium*,⁴³ and is twice cited in an imprecise manner.⁴⁴ One of the imprecise citations is openly hostile and misrepresents Bernard's thought.⁴⁵ At this stage one is not left with the impression that Calvin has any deep knowledge of Bernard's writings or theology. Nor does he appear particularly to admire Bernard, let alone to be profoundly influenced by him. The one other citation before 1543, in the 1539 reply to Sadoleto, is simply a general allusion to Bernard's protests against the corruptions of his age.⁴⁶ Calvin's knowledge of Bernard appears to be slight before the 1543 *Institutio*. Until then all of his citations are vague, with no references given. Indeed, none can be related with any certainty to a specific passage of Bernard, with the exception of the definition of free choice.⁴⁷

Did Calvin read Bernard for himself or did he borrow his citations from others? Bernard appears in a series of definitions of free choice—from Origen, (pseudo-) Augustine, Anselm, Peter Lombard, and Thomas Aquinas, as well as Bernard. The Augustine, Bernard, and Anselm definitions are already found together both in Biel's commentary on Lombard's *Sentences* and in Altenstaig's *Vocabularius theologie*, which drew heavily on Biel.⁴⁸ It is hardly likely that Calvin coincidentally juxtaposed the same three definitions as did Biel. In his second citation Calvin accuses Bernard of a semi-Pelagianism of which he was not guilty. Biel had already expounded Bernard in a semi-Pelagian fashion,⁴⁹ so it is likely that Biel (or someone else in the same tradition) is the source of Calvin's comment. What of the other two citations

⁴¹ Most of the historical material relates to the doctrine of the sacraments, on which Bernard wrote little (Mooi, KDE, 367f.)

⁴² OS 3:XI.

⁴³ C.I.

⁴⁴ Cc.II; III.

⁴⁵ C.II. Cf. chapter 3, p. 37. The remaining citation (c.III) is approving and this was to become Calvin's normal attitude to Bernard. Cf. chapter 2, pp. 28–31.

⁴⁶ C.IV.

⁴⁷ Cf. Appendix I for the possible source of the citations.

⁴⁸ G. Biel, *Collectorium circa quattuor libros Sententiarum. Liber secundus* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1984), 483, 485 (Lib. II, dist. 25, q. unica, art. 1); J. Altenstaig, *Vocabularius theologie* (Hagenau: H. Gran, 1517), f.134b, s.v. 'liberum arbitrium.'

⁴⁹ Cf. H. J. McSorley, *Luther: Right or Wrong?* (New York: Newman; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1969), 210f.; L. Grane, *Contra Gabrielem* (Gyldendal, 1962), 118–136. It is possible that c.II could have been inspired by a misinterpretation of the quotation from *Grn.* 11.36 in Biel, *Collectorium* Lib. II, dist. 25, q. unica, art. 3, dub. 1 (p. 490).

from 1539? The third citation from the *Institutio* could be derived from the Bernard anthology known as the *Flores*,⁵⁰ and the citation in the reply to Sadolet betrays no deeper knowledge of Bernard than could be acquired by hearsay.

When was Calvin's first exposure to Bernard? Hyma claimed that Calvin came to know the fathers and leading medievals during his four years at the Collège de Montaigu in Paris, a claim that was repeated by Wendel in his magisterial *Calvin*.⁵¹ Smits was the first to apply this specifically to Bernard.⁵² Reuter subsequently developed the idea at length, claiming that Calvin read Bernard at Montaigu, at least via the *Flores*.⁵³ He suggests that Bucer may also have helped Calvin to come to know Bernard.⁵⁴ He sees Bernard as a major influence upon the 1539 *Institutio*. 'In stärkster literarischer Abhängigkeit befindet sich *Calvin*, mit der zweiten Ausgabe der *Institutio* beginnend, von *Bernhard*.'⁵⁵ Bernard was responsible for the shift in the opening sentence of the *Institutio* from 'doctrina' (1536) to 'sapientia' (1539).⁵⁶ These claims are part of a wider thesis concerning Calvin's time at Montaigu and the influence upon him of John Major in particular. Major was a Scottish theologian who taught at Montaigu from 1525 to 1531. According to Reuter, he exercised a dominant influence upon Calvin's theological development, introducing him to a wide range of thinkers such as Augustine, Bernard, Lombard, and Scotus.⁵⁷

Reuter's thesis was taken up and adopted by many subsequent authors, but it also had its critics. Most noteworthy among these was Ganoczy, in his 1966 *Le jeune Calvin*. Ganoczy points out that Calvin's studies at Montaigu did not go beyond the field of arts and that it is most unlikely that he attended theol-

⁵⁰ C.III could be derived from *Flores* 7:67 and 8:18–20.

⁵¹ A. Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance* (New York and London: Century, 1925), 283f.; idem, *Renaissance to Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951), 380; F. Wendel, *Calvin* (London: Collins; New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 19, 126f.

⁵² Smits, *SAOJC*, 1:14, followed by Mooi, *KDE*, 327. Smits subsequently, in a private conversation in 1971, revised his opinion.

⁵³ Reuter, *Grundverständnis*, 17, 32, followed by K. McDonnell, *John Calvin, the Church, and the Eucharist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 27; H. Schützeichel, *Die Glaubens-theologie Calvins* (München: Max Hueber, 1972), 73; Snell, *Place of Augustine*, 141–143; Stadland, *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung*, 28, 46.

⁵⁴ Reuter, *Grundverständnis*, 17.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 12 (Reuter's emphasis).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 9–18, especially 16f. Reid, 'Bernard of Clairvaux,' 143f. also claims that Bernard influenced the opening words of the *Institutio*, without reference to Reuter.

⁵⁷ Reuter, *Grundverständnis*, 20–28, 32. The same point is argued by T. F. Torrance, *The Hermeneutics of John Calvin* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988), 80–95.

ogy lectures at that stage.⁵⁸ He points out that Reuter's case is built primarily on a study of the definitive 1559 edition of the *Institutio*, whereas the alleged influence of Major and others should have appeared in the first edition.⁵⁹ Further criticism of Reuter's thesis came in 1975 from Parker. He repeats Ganoczy's arguments and adds a further element, questioning the traditional dating of Calvin's studies in Paris and arguing that he probably overlapped with Major at Montaigu for a year only, or maybe not at all.⁶⁰

In 1981 Reuter responded with the publication of a further book, *Vom Scholaren bis zum jungen Reformator*. Here he accepts the point that Calvin's studies were in the arts faculty and that he did not attend Major's lectures in the theology faculty.⁶¹ But he leans heavily upon Calvin's reference in 1539 to his instruction in the *rudimenta* of the faith.⁶² This he sees as a reference to the instruction that he received at Montaigu. This teaching was in the tradition of the *Devotio moderna* and the anti-Pelagian branch of the *Via moderna*.⁶³ Reuter also responds to the charge that his evidence is derived from later editions of the *Institutio*. Running through this book like a liturgical refrain are phrases like 'schon 1536,' 'in der Erstaussage,' etc.

What of the influence upon Calvin of Bernard in particular?⁶⁴ On this matter Reuter's claims have become stronger rather than weaker. He claims that at Montaigu in general, and through Major in particular, Calvin was exposed to the Augustinian anti-Pelagianism of the late Middle Ages and to the 'bernhardinisch-devote' tradition of piety and spiritual training. Where the latter is concerned this is a matter of practice, of spiritual exercises and discipline, as much as of ideas.⁶⁵ He also claims that at Montaigu Calvin was exposed to the *writings* of Bernard.⁶⁶ He usually suggests a considerable exposure, but

⁵⁸ A. Ganoczy, *Le jeune Calvin* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1966), 39, 186, 190. E.T.: *The Young Calvin* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 61, 173f., 176.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 188–90; E.T.: 175f.

⁶⁰ T. H. L. Parker, *John Calvin* (London: J. M. Dent, 1975), 11, 156–161.

⁶¹ Reuter, *Vom Scholaren*, p. 1 et passim. But he also points to Calvin's statement that his father made him turn from the study of philosophy to law. He suggests that this may mean that Calvin commenced at Montaigu the study of scholastic theology (*ibid.*, 37).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 4ff, citing the *Responsio ad Sadoletum* (CO 5:411).

⁶³ Reuter, *Vom Scholaren*, 4–12ff.

⁶⁴ The debate over Montaigu has continued since 1981, with important contributions by A. E. McGrath and T. F. Torrance among others. It is not pursued here because these writers have little to say about Calvin's exposure to Bernard. For a discussion of their views, cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and Medievals,' 149–156; *idem*, 'Calvin's Use of Bernard of Clairvaux,' 303–310; *idem*, 'Recent Calvin Literature: A review article,' *Themelios* 16, no. 2 (Jan./Feb., 1991): 20.

⁶⁵ K. Reuter, *Vom Scholaren*, 16–18, 25, 30f., 56, 62f., 122, 127, 136.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 16, 18, 30, 32, 56, 114, 127.

once qualifies this by stating that Calvin must have known at least anthologies from Bernard's writings, such as the *Flores*.⁶⁷

Turning to the first edition of the *Institutio*, Augustine and Bernard are, according to Reuter, 'die für Calvin zunächst einmal nächstliegenden literarischen, geistlichen und theologischen Quellen'.⁶⁸ Calvin has been influenced by 'die augustinisch-bernhardinisch-devote Mystik'.⁶⁹ This is more often described as the 'bernhardinisch-devote Frömmigkeit'.⁷⁰ Reuter describes an aspect of Calvin's theology in 1536, 'die ohne die bernhardinisch-devote und augustinisch-franziskanische Frömmigkeit und auch Theologie kaum denkbar ist'.⁷¹ As regards Calvin's exposure to this tradition, 'es konnte zu keiner anderen Zeit so sehr von Calvin Besitz ergreifen wie zu derjenigen, als er das Gymnasium montis acuti besuchte'.⁷²

Reuter sees evidence in the 1536 *Institutio* for Calvin's exposure not just to a Bernardine tradition but to the writings of Bernard himself.⁷³ 'Schon in der Erstausgabe der *Institutio* fällt eine gewisse Kenntnis Bernhards auf'.⁷⁴ Reuter expounds an aspect of the young Calvin 'die ohne den Einfluß von Schriften Bernhards und der *Imitatio* schon im Gymnasium montis acuti nicht denkbar erscheint'.⁷⁵ To summarize, Reuter sees Bernard as a major influence upon the young Calvin. At Montaigu Calvin was exposed to the 'bernhardinisch-devote' tradition in general and to the writings of Bernard in particular. He must have read at least the *Flores*. Bernard was an important source for the first edition of the *Institutio*.

On what grounds does Reuter make these claims? His case rests upon a two-fold foundation: the circumstances of Calvin's studies at Montaigu⁷⁶ and the many parallels that he discerns between the thought of Bernard and the young Calvin.⁷⁷ But how adequate is this?

First, the circumstances of Calvin's studies at Montaigu. It would be hard to dispute that Calvin was there exposed to the 'bernhardinisch-devote' tradition. But must he have read the writings of Bernard? Clearly he *may* have done so, but we cannot simply assume that he did. Again, if he did, how ex-

⁶⁷ Ibid., 63f., cf. 122.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 20.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 58.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 30, 102ff.

⁷¹ Ibid., 72.

⁷² Ibid., 203.

⁷³ Ibid., 30, 61f., 63–65, 102, 114, 121, 135, 138, 143, 145, 176.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 102.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 114.

⁷⁶ See three paragraphs above.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 64f., 73, 114, 127ff.

tensive and how significant was this? For a boy in his mid-teens to be forced to read something does not have the same significance as, say, an ardent young man of twenty-four studying in a friend's library to prepare himself for his theological career. Even if Calvin did read Bernard at Montaigu, we cannot *assume* that it made a significant impression upon him.

What about the alleged parallels between Bernard and the young Calvin? This is where Reuter places most of his emphasis and it is the weakest part of his case. Suppose there are profound parallels between the thought of Bernard and that of Calvin? What does this prove? Not necessarily that Calvin had even heard of Bernard, let alone that Bernard was his source. It could be that Bernard's ideas reached Calvin via an intermediary source, such as the *devotio moderna* to which Calvin *was* exposed at Montaigu and whose influence upon Calvin Reuter stresses.⁷⁸ It could be that Bernard and Calvin are similar because they are both independently following an earlier source, such as Augustine. It could be that they are similar because they both belong to a broader theological tradition, such as medieval Augustinianism. Similarities and parallels prove no more than that Bernard is *one possible* source for the theology of the young Calvin. This weakness is apparent as Reuter expounds his thesis. Some of the parallels are so general that they prove little more than the fact that Bernard and Calvin were both orthodox Christians.⁷⁹

The missing element in both of Reuter's books is a study of Calvin's explicit *use* of Bernard. There is an extensive bibliography at the end of each book, but these contain hardly any of the many studies of Calvin's *use* of the fathers, such as the magisterial works of Mooi or Smits.⁸⁰ This lacuna points to a fundamental defect in methodology. In one place he does refer to Calvin's use of earlier writers, listing the authors cited in Calvin's Seneca commentary. But this is done in an uncritical fashion and without reference to Battles' study which has shown how much Calvin was dependent upon other people's collections at this point.⁸¹ Regarding Bernard, in the first book Reuter makes passing reference to two of Calvin's citations of Bernard,⁸² but otherwise ignores them. In the second book there are again passing references to five of

⁷⁸ A clear example of an intermediary source is found in *Inst.* 2:2:5 (OS 3:247, n. 4). Calvin there cites Peter Lombard for the threefold definition of liberty which comes ultimately from Bernard. The idea may be Bernard's, but the source is Lombard.

⁷⁹ Cf. Reuter, *Vom Scholaren*, 127, for some parallels which are very general.

⁸⁰ Mooi, KDE; Smits, SAOJC.

⁸¹ Reuter, *Vom Scholaren*, 89f.; F. L. Battles, 'The Sources of Calvin's Seneca Commentary' in *John Calvin*, G. E. Duffield, ed. (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay, 1966), 38-66.

⁸² Reuter, *Grundverständnis*, 191, 195. On p. 191 he inaccurately attributes c.IX to the 1559 *Institutio*.

Calvin's citations,⁸³ but these are so brief that they are likely to be missed by all but the most careful readers. The author places no weight upon them, wisely given the paucity of Bernardine citations in Calvin prior to 1543. Indeed, he absolves himself from any obligations in this area. He maintains Bernard's influence upon the young Calvin, 'ohne daß eine direkte literarische Abhängigkeit nachgewiesen werden kann, auch nicht nachgewiesen zu werden braucht. Die gleichlautende Verwendung der Termini und die Verwandtschaft in der Sache selbst entscheidet.'⁸⁴ Back to the alleged parallels.

But how significant is it whether Calvin names a particular writer? It has rightly been pointed out that Calvin's almost total lack of reference to any late-medieval figures is no proof that he was not familiar with them.⁸⁵ When Calvin cites earlier authors he is not declaring which writers have influenced him nor even necessarily stating his sources in the manner of a modern footnote. With the fathers, including Bernard, the last of the fathers, he is above all appealing to authorities.⁸⁶ This must be borne in mind when considering the extent of his references to Bernard.

If the circumstances of Calvin's study at Montaignu do not demand a significant exposure to Bernard himself, if alleged parallels prove very little, if failure to name an author does not prove ignorance of him, to what can we turn? With Bernard we do have hard evidence, in the form of Calvin's explicit use of him. We must not fall into the trap of assuming that his references to Bernard exhaust his knowledge of him. But we can legitimately turn to his use of Bernard for evidence of his attitude to him and of the type of knowledge of Bernard that he has. It would be wrong to suggest that Calvin knew no more of Bernard in 1539 than he cites. But it is surely not wrong to turn to the citations to see what sort of knowledge of Bernard Calvin had in 1539.

Using this criterion, what conclusions do we reach? The extent and the nature of the 1539 citations do not encourage the view that Calvin was profoundly influenced by Bernard at that stage. This does not prove that there was no such influence, but it does place a heavy burden of proof on any claim to such influence. Until the 1543 *Institutio* Calvin's few citations are vague and without references and half of them are hostile. We do not find much evidence for the claim that 'in stärkster literarischer Abhängigkeit befindet sich Calvin,

⁸³ Reuter, *Vom Scholaren*, 16, n. 61 is probably meant to refer to c.II; p. 156, n. 1305 appears to be a reference to c.XXXIXb, although the wrong source in Calvin is given; p. 156, n. 1312 refers to c.XI; p. 163, n. 1361 refers to cc.III and II; p. 185, n. 1517 refers to c.I.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁸⁵ This point is made by A. E. McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 102f.; Reuter, *Vom Scholaren*, 178; Torrance, *Hermeneutics*, 81.

⁸⁶ Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals,' 159-165.

mit der zweiten Ausgabe der *Institutio* beginnend, von *Bernhard*.⁸⁷ In the next edition of the *Institutio*, published in 1543, all has changed. It is clear that Calvin is by now familiar with Bernard. Bernard is cited extensively and approvingly, to support points being argued by Calvin. There are long and appreciative quotations from Bernard's works.

What follows from this? Comparing Calvin's use of Bernard in the 1539 and 1543 editions it is hard to resist the following conclusion. In 1539 Calvin's knowledge of Bernard was slight and inaccurate. He could cite Bernard as an example both of the medieval departure from Augustinian truth and as a witness to that truth. By 1543 he had read a significant quantity of the Bernardine corpus and could quote from it at length to present Bernard as a medieval witness to the truth. Calvin's first serious exposure to Bernard came between the writing of the second and third editions of the *Institutio*, during his time at Strassburg. This conclusion concerns not the nebulous influence of a 'bernhardinisch-devote' tradition, where Reuter may well be correct, but Calvin's direct literary encounter with Bernard, about which Reuter makes equally firm assertions, which are unfounded.

When did Calvin first encounter Bernard? There are four possibilities. Calvin may have read Bernard at Montaigu and this could have been the source of his 1539 citations. Certainly he was exposed to the 'bernhardinisch-devote' tradition at Montaigu and this may have included a first-hand encounter with the writings of Bernard himself. Another possibility is that Calvin read Bernard during his time at Angoulême in 1534. Here he spent some months of leisure with access to the library of his friend Louis du Tillet and with the desire to prepare himself for his work as a reformer.⁸⁸ Access, leisure, and inclination all coincide. A third possibility is his time at Basel preparing the first edition of the *Institutio*. Finally, it is even possible that Calvin had read no Bernard until his stay in Strassburg. The earliest citations, in the 1539 *Institutio*, could have been inserted after his arrival at Strassburg. In favour of this possibility is the slightly confused attitude to Bernard in this edition—both hostile and favourable. This is more easily understood if Calvin had only recently begun to read Bernard. The other 1539 citation, in his reply to Sadolet, is very similar to a comment made by Bucer.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Reuter, *Grundverständnis*, 12 (Reuter's emphasis).

⁸⁸ E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin. Les hommes et les choses de son temps*, vol. 1 (Lausanne: Bridel, 1899), 370. In *Calvin*, Parker points out that Calvin 'could hardly have spent more than four or five months there; but this is ample time to acquire a superficial knowledge of Bernard (p. 31).

⁸⁹ C.IV is very similar to a comment in Bucer's 1530 *Epistola Apologetica* in *Martini Bucerii Opera Latina*, vol. 1, C. Augustijn, P. Fraenkel, and M. Lienhard, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 101f. But anyone with a basic knowledge of Bernard could have made such a comment.

There are a number of possibilities for Calvin's earliest encounter with Bernard—ranging from Montaigu to Strassburg—but if the impression left by the 1539 *Institutio* is accurate, Calvin's knowledge of Bernard at that point was so slight that it is neither possible nor important to know when and where he acquired it.

In his first book, Reuter suggests that Calvin's early acquaintance with Bernard may have been via the *Flores* and that Bucer may have helped him with his knowledge of Bernard.⁹⁰ Study of the 1539 citations shows that they betray no greater knowledge of Bernard than could easily be derived from the *Flores*.⁹¹ It is possible that Calvin's earliest reading of Bernard was via the *Flores*, but all that has been shown is that Calvin's vague and general use of Bernard in 1539 does not demand greater knowledge than that available in the *Flores*, not that he actually read them. Bucer is a distinct possibility. It was at Strassburg that Calvin's serious reading of Bernard began. Bucer himself had a modest knowledge of Bernard.⁹² It is possible that a couple of Calvin's Bernardine citations are derived from Bucer.⁹³ But Bucer's use of Bernard is slight compared with Calvin's and Bucer's role would have been no more than to point Calvin in the direction of Bernard.

1543 *Institutio*

The 1543 *Institutio* was already nearing completion in January 1542.⁹⁴ Most of the work for it was probably completed at Strassburg. Calvin appeals to Bernard concerning the corruption of the pope and clergy and the doctrine of justification. The four citations relating to the pope and clergy appear in material new to the 1543 edition.⁹⁵ They develop the brief allusion found in the 1539 reply to Sadolet. The four quotations relating to justification are incorporated into sections consisting mainly of 1539 material.⁹⁶ This confirms the impression that Calvin's knowledge of Bernard at the time of the 1539

⁹⁰ Reuter, *Grundverständnis*, 17, 32.

⁹¹ Cc.I–IV could be drawn from *Flores* 10:8; 8:22–24; 7:67 and 8:18–20; and from a general reading of the *Flores*, respectively. It has already been argued that cc.I and II come from an intermediate source.

⁹² The indices of Bucer's *Opera Latina* and *Deutsche Schriften* so far published (Gütersloh and Paris, 1955ff.; Leiden, 1979ff.) reveal a modest use of Bernard. Bucer's handwritten collection of patristic passages contains ten references to Bernard (P. Fraenkel, ed., *Martini Bucer Opera Latina*, vol. 3 [Leiden: Brill, 1988], 11f., 41, 69, 86, 119, 153, 158, 160f., 171).

⁹³ Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Sources,' 276, n. 158, for two instances where Bucer anticipated one of Calvin's citations. In neither instance is it necessary to postulate dependence upon Bucer.

⁹⁴ OS 3:XIX–XX.

⁹⁵ Cc.XIII–XVI.

⁹⁶ Cc.IX–XII.

Institutio was not so great and that his serious reading of Bernard did not begin until after the completion of that edition. These four quotations all develop a brief reference to Bernard by Melancthon in the *Acta* of the Regensburg Colloquy, which Calvin edited and translated into French in 1541.⁹⁷

The length of the quotations makes it clear that Calvin was at this stage reading the works of Bernard for himself. The textual evidence clearly supports what we would expect, that Calvin used an *Opera omnia* rather than either manuscripts or editions of individual works. Variations between the different editions show the 1515 Lyons edition to come closest to Calvin, but the differences are not large enough for there to be any certainty that this was the edition that he used.⁹⁸

1543 to 1547

In the few years following the 1543 *Institutio* Bernard appears in a commentary and in five different treatises of Calvin, three anti-Roman and two anti-Anabaptist. None of these eleven citations provides evidence that Calvin continued to read Bernard after his return to Geneva. The most natural explanation is that the copy of Bernard that he read in Strassburg, whether this was his own or someone else's, did not accompany him to Geneva. It is not until 1554 that there is evidence of renewed reading of Bernard.

In 1543 Calvin published his *Defensio doctrinae de servitute et liberatione humani arbitrii* in response to the first part of the *De libero hominis arbitrio et divina gratia* of the Dutch theologian Albertus Pighius.⁹⁹ Calvin four times appeals to Bernard, once developing a citation from the 1539 *Institutio*.¹⁰⁰ These are brief citations (none actually a quotation) without the giving of any references. Superficially Calvin seems to have reverted to the approach of the 1539 *Institutio* but there is an important difference. The citations are brief (probably because Pighius, to whom Calvin is responding, scarcely mentions Bernard) but they are confident. Bernard is basically on Calvin's side, even if they may not agree totally.¹⁰¹ The most plausible explanation of Calvin's citations in

⁹⁷ CO 5:591. These *Acta* greatly influenced the 1543 *Institutio*, according to Smits, SAOJC 1:58.

⁹⁸ Lane, 'Calvin's Sources,' 256f., 260–63. This edition is IA 117:489.

⁹⁹ Although the *Defensio* appeared before the 1543 *Institutio*, Calvin did not start work on it until the completion of the latter (OS 3:XIX–XX; CO 6:XXIII). It belongs to the post-1543 *Institutio* phase. For Calvin's sources in this work, cf. A. N. S. Lane, 'Calvin and the Fathers in his *The Bondage and Liberation of the Will*,' forthcoming in *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex*, W. H. Neuser, ed. (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1996).

¹⁰⁰ Cc.V–VIII. C.VIII develops c.III.

¹⁰¹ C.V, especially.

this work is that they reflect both his wide reading in Bernard at Strassburg and the fact that he did not bring a copy of Bernard back with him to Geneva. The brevity is both because Pighius does not make much of Bernard and because Calvin is working from memory of earlier reading.

The following year saw Calvin's *Articuli facultatis parisiensis cum antidoto*, a response to twenty-five anti-Protestant theses produced by the theological faculty of the Sorbonne. This contains one Bernardine quotation concerning merit, drawn from the 1543 *Institutio*.¹⁰² The third anti-Roman treatise is Calvin's *Acta synodi tridentinae cum antidoto*, a response to the *Acta* of the first seven sessions of the council. The *Acta* and Calvin's reply both appeared in 1547. There are three Bernardine quotations on justification and papal corruption, all drawn from the 1543 *Institutio*.¹⁰³ In his responses to the Sorbonne and to Trent Calvin introduces no new Bernardine material but simply recycles quotations from the *Institutio*. This is further evidence that he did not have a copy of Bernard's works at this stage.

While at Strassburg Calvin had engaged in controversy with Anabaptists and in the immediately following years he published two works against them. The first was his *Instruction contre les anabaptistes* which appeared in 1544 as a response to Balthasar Hübmaier's *Von dem Tauf der Gläubigen*, which was circulating in a French translation. Calvin's work contains a quotation from Bernard on the state of the faithful departed.¹⁰⁴ This quotation follows a series of patristic quotations which were taken almost verbatim from the 1542 *Vivere apud Christum non dormire animis sanctis*, a work opposed to the doctrine of soul sleep.¹⁰⁵ When a revised edition of this latter work appeared in 1545, under the new title of *Psychopannychia*, a similar Bernardine quotation had been added to the original patristic quotations.¹⁰⁶

These quotations concern a side of Bernard to which Calvin never again refers, whether before or after this time. Here surely is evidence that Calvin read Bernard in 1544 and 1545. It would have been difficult to avoid this conclusion were it not for the textual evidence. None of the printed editions of Bernard can be Calvin's source, because of material that they omit. Calvin quotes a phrase that appears in some strands of the manuscript tradition but in none of the *Opera omnia*.¹⁰⁷ Does this mean that Calvin used a manu-

¹⁰² C.XVII, which is drawn from c.Xb.

¹⁰³ Cc.XXI–XXIII, drawn from cc.XI; Xa; XIVh, respectively.

¹⁰⁴ C.XVIII.

¹⁰⁵ The quotations of CO 7:125f. are taken entirely from CO 5:214f.

¹⁰⁶ C.XIX, which does not entirely coincide with C.XVIII, but is drawn from the same two sections of the same two Bernardine sermons.

¹⁰⁷ Lane, 'Calvin's Sources,' 257f. (nn. 30–32), 262 (nn. 62, 64–66).

script? This is unlikely as Bernard manuscripts do not appear to have been available at Geneva. They *were* found at Strassburg, but there Calvin was reading an *Opera omnia*.¹⁰⁸ What then was Calvin's source? The most likely explanation is that he found the quotations in a printed edition of a medieval author who had himself read Bernard in the relevant manuscripts. This intermediate source has not as yet been traced, but it still remains a more plausible explanation than any other.

Bernard appears just once in Calvin's New Testament commentaries. In commenting on I Corinthians 3.15, in 1546, Calvin numbers Bernard among those *sancti* who had the right foundation but mixed good with bad material in building upon it.¹⁰⁹ Such an observation was a commonplace of Protestant exegesis—Bugenhausen, Bucer, and Luther having already made similar comments.¹¹⁰

1554 to 1557

From 1554 we find evidence that Calvin has begun to read Bernard again. On Genesis 3.6 he cites Bernard in support of his belief that the Fall occurred soon after the creation of Adam and Eve.¹¹¹ In 1576¹¹² it was suggested that Calvin may have derived this brief citation from Aloisius Lippomanus's *Catena in Genesim ex authoribus ecclesiasticis*. A subsequent more rigorous examination has established that there is no evidence for Calvin's use of this anthology.¹¹³

On Psalm 55.13–15 Calvin in 1557 quotes a saying of Bernard concerning the danger of domestic foes.¹¹⁴ A similar quotation is found in Hugo of St. Charo's *Postilla* on the biblical text, at this point, and also appears in Bucer. At first sight this might appear to be evidence for dependence. But in fact Hugo and Bucer are quoting a similar, but significantly different passage from Bernard.¹¹⁵ Calvin's own reading of Bernard is the most likely source of this quotation.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 264 (nn. 74f.).

¹⁰⁹ C.XX.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Sources,' 272f. (nn. 132f.), 276 (nn. 157f.).

¹¹¹ C.XXIV.

¹¹² Lane, 'Calvin's Sources,' 273.

¹¹³ A. N. S. Lane, 'Did Calvin Use Lippoman's *Catena in Genesim*?,' forthcoming in *Calvin Theological Journal* 1996/1997.

¹¹⁴ C.XXVI.

¹¹⁵ Hugo of St. Charo, *Textus biblie cum postilla* (Basel: Amerbach, 1498–1502), vol. 2, sig. v.8a; P. Fraenkel, ed., *Martini Bucer Opera Latina*, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 8, 11, 32, 176; F. Wendel, ed., *Martini Bucer Opera Latina*, vol. 15 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954–55), 39 all draw upon SC 33:16 (BO 1:244). Calvin is quoting VI p P 2.5.

The sole reference to Bernard in Calvin's sermons is found in his sermon on Deuteronomy 32, preached on 3 June 1556 but not published until 1567.¹¹⁶ Calvin accuses the papists of honouring Bernard and others as fathers but rejecting the good parts of their teaching.¹¹⁷

In 1554 and 1557 Calvin cites new Bernardine material. This was shortly to be followed by a mass of new material in the 1559 *Institutio*. What is the explanation of this? In 1552 a new edition of Bernard's works was published in Basel. There are a number of reasons for supposing that Calvin used this particular edition. First, its date of publication fits the timing of Calvin's citations. Second, the links between Geneva and Basel would favour the use of this edition. Third, there is a copy of this edition in the *Bibliothèque publique et universitaire* at Geneva. This volume is already to be found in the 1572 catalogue of the library of the Genevan Academy, some of whose books came from Calvin's personal library.¹¹⁸ There is a distinct possibility, therefore, that this may have been Calvin's own copy. The volume has been examined carefully for markings, but nothing has been found that can be identified as Calvin's. This does not exclude his ownership as he was not in the habit of identifying his books.¹¹⁹

1559 *Institutio*

No new Bernardine citations appeared in the 1550 *Institutio*, but this edition contained little new material. The definitive 1559 edition contained much new material, drawn largely from the polemical treatises of the 1550s.¹²⁰ Most of the new historical material relates to the Trinity and the real presence and is drawn from these same treatises.¹²¹ There are fifteen new Bernardine citations but they are not related to these topics.¹²² They are concerned with freewill, grace, and justification, continuing the interests of the 1539 *Institutio*. They are incorporated into material that is predominantly from 1539 and, to a lesser extent, from 1543. None of the new citations is drawn from the treat-

¹¹⁶ C.XXV.

¹¹⁷ Calvin made similar comments about the fathers in general. *Inst.*, *Epistola ad franciscum* I (OS 1:27); *Ecclesiae reformandae ratio* (CO 7:644). Luther made a similar comment about Bernard (LW 22:273).

¹¹⁸ A. Ganoczy, *La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 17–19, 188. The edition is IA 117:559.

¹¹⁹ Ganoczy, *Bibliothèque*, 19.

¹²⁰ Wendel, *Calvin*, 119f.

¹²¹ Mooi, KDE, 178, 191.

¹²² Cc.XXVII–XLI. C.XLI concerns transubstantiation, but this is anti-Roman whereas the treatises are anti-Lutheran.

ises, but two are taken from earlier editions of the *Institutio*.¹²³ It seems clear that the origin of the new citations is not Calvin's interest in new topics but his wider reading of Bernard in connection with old topics.¹²⁴ Variations between the different editions show that Calvin is unlikely to have used the same edition as at Strassburg.¹²⁵ The evidence confirms the suspicion that Calvin began to reread Bernard in the mid-1550s after acquiring the 1552 Basel edition.

What then were Calvin's sources for his citations of Bernard? A fairly clear picture has emerged. His first quotation, in the 1539 *Institutio*, was drawn from Altenstaig or Biel or from some other work in the same tradition and the second citation may well also be dependent upon the same source. The two remaining citations from that year do not reveal much knowledge of Bernard. It is neither possible nor very important to know where this minimal understanding of Bernard originated. The 1543 *Institutio*, by contrast, shows that Calvin had studied the *Opera omnia* of Bernard for himself. The citations in the early years back in Geneva are mostly recycled, except for the reply to Pighius, where Calvin appears to be working from memory, and the two anti-Anabaptist citations. The renewed interest in Bernard from the 1554 Genesis commentary reflects Calvin's reading of the 1552 Basel edition of the *Opera omnia*.

Calvin's prime source of Bernard was his reading of the *Opera omnia* at two stages in his life: at Strassburg and at Geneva after the acquisition of the 1552 Basel edition.¹²⁶ The evidence for the use of intermediate sources is slight. It is very likely that Calvin in 1539 drew at least one quotation from the Biel-Altenstaig tradition and that the quotations in the 1544 and 1545 anti-Anabaptist works are also drawn from an intermediary source. The source of the remaining citations from 1539 is uncertain, but unimportant. All of Calvin's significant Bernardine citations are accounted for by his reading of Bernard in two phases, at Strassburg and from 1552.

¹²³ Cc.XXXI; XXXVIb and c are derived from cc.III; XII, respectively. Cc.XXVIII; XXX could be seen as a development of cc.V; VII.

¹²⁴ Raitt cites the debates in the mid-1550s on predestination as the reason for Calvin's renewed reading of Bernard at this time ('Calvin's Use,' 102). It is true that there are three new citations in 1559 relating to predestination (Cc.XXXVIII–XL). But these did not appear in the polemical literature of the 1550s and they form a small proportion of the new Bernardine material added since 1554. It would seem that Calvin read Bernard because of the availability to him of the 1552 edition rather than from the desire to find more material relating to predestination in particular.

¹²⁵ Lane, 'Calvin's Sources,' 258f.

¹²⁶ Reid's claim that Calvin read Bernard constantly throughout his career ('Bernard of Clairvaux,' 130) is groundless.

CALVIN'S SCHOLARLY STANDARDS

Accuracy of Citation

Calvin's scholarly standards vary considerably throughout his career. Sometimes he quotes Bernard at length, at other times he summarizes him, and sometimes he confines himself to making comments about Bernard. Where there are quotations, these vary in accuracy. References are not always given and where they are, they are not always accurate. These variations in Calvin's standards have a twofold origin: his circumstances vary with time and his standards vary according to the type of work.¹²⁷

The time factor is clear. The 1539 citations are brief and vague. The 1543 *Institutio*, based on Calvin's Strassburg studies, contains lengthy quotations. Apart from the two anti-Anabaptist quotations, the citations from Calvin's return to Geneva to 1552 are either vague and general or based on earlier editions of the *Institutio*. Fresh material appears from 1554 and the 1559 *Institutio* contains a wealth of new quotations. Calvin's periods of Bernardine study, at Strassburg and from 1552, both leave their mark upon his standards.

Apart from the time factor, the type of work also affects Calvin's scholarly standards. As would be expected, the lowest standards are found in the sermons. Calvin used little historical material in his sermons,¹²⁸ in keeping with their popular character. Only one reference to Bernard is to be found¹²⁹ and this is merely a casual allusion to him as one of the fathers.

The commentaries were intended for a more educated, though not necessarily theological, public. They contain considerably more historical material than the sermons.¹³⁰ Calvin progresses from merely mentioning Bernard to paraphrasing him to quoting him.¹³¹ The paraphrase and the quotation are both very brief and no reference is given, as was normal in Calvin's commentaries.¹³²

The treatises were intended for a theological audience and are mainly polemical. The polemical aim leads to a higher proportion of citations.¹³³ There

¹²⁷ The type of work also affects the frequency of citation: in the *Institutio*, treatises, commentaries, sermons there is one citation per 20, 283, 4,000, 11,213 columns of CO, respectively.

¹²⁸ There are only nine historical citations in all the sermons published in CO (Mooi, KDE, 395).

¹²⁹ C.XXV. There are no Bernardine citations in the sermons so far published in the *Supplementa Calviniana*. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchen Verlag, 1936ff).

¹³⁰ 790 citations (Mooi, KDE, 371, 377, 380f., 393f.).

¹³¹ Cc.XX; XXIV; XXVI.

¹³² One in seven citations has a reference, as opposed to none in the sermons and over three-quarters in the 1559 *Institutio* (Mooi, KDE, 371, 377, 380f., 384f., 393-395).

¹³³ Cf. chapter 2, pp. 26-28, for Calvin's polemical aim.

are eleven Bernardine citations, all written at times when Calvin did not have access to an *Opera omnia*.¹³⁴ This is reflected in the standard of the citations. The first five are general summaries of Bernard's teaching. No references are given and it is not possible to point to any one passage of Bernard that Calvin had in mind. The remaining citations are much more precise. The two quotations against the Anabaptists are longer than the others, but these seem to have a special source.¹³⁵ The remainder are all brief quotations or paraphrases drawn from the 1543 *Institutio*.¹³⁶ Despite their brevity they are not very accurate, probably because Calvin was relying upon memory of the earlier work. The six later citations all have references, of which two are erroneous.¹³⁷

The *Institutio* is Calvin's *magnum opus*,¹³⁸ which is reflected in his use of Bernard. After the brief citations of the 1539 *Institutio*, Bernard next appears in the 1543 edition. Here Calvin twice refers to Bernard's age¹³⁹ and six times quotes from him.¹⁴⁰ Two of the quotations are very long¹⁴¹ and references are always given, though not without error.¹⁴² The citations in the 1559 *Institutio* are shorter than those of the 1543 edition, in some instances the brevity being achieved by the use of paraphrase.¹⁴³ On the other hand, the genuine quotations are more accurate than in 1543. References are usually given, though not always without error.¹⁴⁴ As with Augustine,¹⁴⁵ there is a slight decline in scholarly standards from 1543, probably because Calvin was under greater pressure in 1559.

One characteristic of Calvin's use of Bernard should be noted since it contrasts strikingly with many other sixteenth-century figures, such as Luther and Melancthon. Calvin normally quotes or paraphrases Bernard, often at con-

¹³⁴ Cc.IV-VIII; XVII-XIX; XXI-XXIII. It is possible that Calvin had access to an *Opera omnia* in 1539 but he betrays little evidence of familiarity with one.

¹³⁵ Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Sources,' 257f., 262, 268, 270, 277 and chapter 2, pp. 17-18.

¹³⁶ Cc.XVII; XXI-XXIII are drawn from cc.Xb; XI; Xa; XIVh, respectively.

¹³⁷ SC 61 is referred to as SC 6 and 16 in cc.XVII; XXII, respectively. These could be typographical errors or they could arise from Calvin's faulty memory and time pressures.

¹³⁸ This is not to fall into the error, opposed by T. H. L. Parker, 'Calvin the Biblical Expositor' in *John Calvin*, G. E. Duffield, ed., 176f., of calling Calvin a man of one book.

¹³⁹ Cc.XIII; XV.

¹⁴⁰ Cc.IX-XII; XIV; XVI.

¹⁴¹ Cc.IX; XIV, Calvin's longest Bernardine citations, spanning 43 and 38 lines of OS, respectively.

¹⁴² In c.XIVd Calvin refers to the end of a book where he means the beginning; in c.XVib and c he fails to note a change of book.

¹⁴³ Cc.XXVII; XXX; XXXII; XXXIIIb; XXXVb; XXXVII.

¹⁴⁴ Cc.XXVII; XL have no reference; in c.XXIX SC 21 is referred to as SC 2, probably a typographical error. Cf. also c.XXXI in Appendix I.

¹⁴⁵ Smits, SAOJC 1:238f.

siderable length and with the minimum of comment.¹⁴⁶ Explicit interpretation is rare,¹⁴⁷ though the choice of passages and the context in which they are placed is obviously highly interpretative. Otherwise there are six references to Bernard's times, mostly with Calvin's own comments.¹⁴⁸ Only three citations merely comment about Bernard or appeal to him without reference to specific teaching.¹⁴⁹ This high ratio of content relative to comment is the inverse of that found in many of Calvin's contemporaries.¹⁵⁰ It must also be remembered that although Calvin's standards of quotation, giving references, et cetera, may fall short of ours, for his own age they were high.¹⁵¹

*Causes of Inaccuracy*¹⁵²

Why did Calvin quote Bernard inaccurately? The major causes of inaccuracy, as with his quotations of Augustine,¹⁵³ are the need to shorten and quote from memory. Calvin was forced to quote from memory for two reasons. First, at certain stages in his literary career he could not refer to the originals because they were not available to him.¹⁵⁴ Second, pressure of work did not always allow him time to check quotations, even when the sources were avail-

¹⁴⁶ Cc.XIVi; XVIg; XVIIIc; XIXd; XXVIIIe; XXXIXc are concluding sections of comment on the passages cited; c.XIVa is an opening section of comment; cc.XIIb and c; XXVIIIa; XXIX; XXXVa; XXXVIa and c; XXXVII contain a sentence or phrase of comment while many other citations have introductory words of comment such as *praeclare* (cf. chapter 2, p. 28).

¹⁴⁷ Cc.XIIb and c; XXXVIc are clear examples; cc.XVIC; XIXd; XXXVIa also contain some interpretation.

¹⁴⁸ Cc.IV; XIII; XIVa; XV; XXIII; XLI. Cc.IV; XIII; XIVa; XV contain their own comment; c.XIVg and i adds further comment.

¹⁴⁹ Cc.V; XX; XXV.

¹⁵⁰ Luther, for example, has more Bernardine citations than Calvin, but he comments on him more often than quoting him and the same quotations are often repeated (e.g., *Ep* 91:3 in LW 10:53, 11:496, 25:225, 434; for the numerous quotations of SC 20:1, cf. note 230, below). Many of Calvin's citations span more than 10 lines of OS; few of Luther's cover more than two lines. (The LW edition, used here and hereafter for comparison of Luther and Calvin, is not as complete as the WA, but nevertheless gives a sufficiently wide selection of material.)

¹⁵¹ For a similar conclusion, cf. Smits, SAOJC 1:237, 247. Ganoczy, *Le Jeune Calvin*, 181–186, reaches a different conclusion, but this is confined to Calvin's use of Gratian and Lombard in the 1536 *Institutio* and is assessed by today's standards rather than by comparison with Calvin's contemporaries. For a reference to the latter, cf. *ibid.*, 191.

¹⁵² For the question of theological motivation in changes, cf. chapter 3, p. 86–87.

¹⁵³ Smits, SAOJC 1:244–248. Cf. *ibid.*, 1:239–243 on errors in Calvin's references.

¹⁵⁴ In response to Pighius's charge that he had mentioned only Chrysostom and Jerome in a section of the 1539 *Institutio* (OS 3:299:4–8) Calvin replies that at that stage he had no books on hand except one volume of Augustine which had been given to him on loan (CO 6:336). Although it suited Calvin to exaggerate his destitution, the basic picture fits what is known of his poverty at Strassburg.

able. A number of Calvin's Bernardine citations from the 1543 *Institutio* appear in subsequent treatises with minor inaccuracies. It seems clear that Calvin was using his earlier material from memory, without checking it. In citing from memory he was simply following the normal practice of the time. He wrote many of his treatises under great pressure, which did not leave much time for looking up references.¹⁵⁵

Calvin's citations contain scores of minor alterations in wording or changes in word order.¹⁵⁶ There is no discernible motive for these changes and they arise almost certainly from citation by memory. There are many omissions of individual words, of phrases and of whole sentences.¹⁵⁷ These, together with the paraphrasing of sentences or phrases,¹⁵⁸ could arise equally from a desire to abbreviate or from citation from memory. Where there are really large gaps Calvin was probably aware of the omission.¹⁵⁹ The same is likely to be true of most of the sentences and longer phrases omitted.¹⁶⁰ Occasionally sentences are transposed, which can arise from a deliberate decision or from a faulty memory.¹⁶¹

The process of quotation also leads to minor alterations. Indirect speech is often introduced by the use of infinitives, almost always in order to paraphrase a passage or to insert a phrase of Bernard into one of Calvin's sentences.¹⁶² Bernard's text is also sometimes transposed from the first or second into the third person.¹⁶³ The need to place a passage in context can lead to small alterations in wording or to the introduction of new words.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁵ For the time constraints on Calvin's reply to Pighius and for his use of memory there, cf. Lane, 'Calvin and the Fathers.'

¹⁵⁶ Thirty sections have minor changes in wording and 23 have minor changes in word order, out of 42 sections of Latin quotation.

¹⁵⁷ Twenty-seven sections have individual words omitted, 7 have phrases omitted, and 8 have whole sentences omitted, out of 44 sections of quotation.

¹⁵⁸ Eleven sections have phrases paraphrased and 11 have sentences paraphrased, out of 42 sections of Latin quotation.

¹⁵⁹ Cc.IXa; XVI; XXXIV.

¹⁶⁰ In c.XIVh a phrase is replaced by 'etc.' This shows that Calvin was aware of the omission.

¹⁶¹ Transposed sentences appear in cc.XXII; XXXIV; XXXVIa; XXXIXa. C.XIIc begins 'et paulo ante' making it clear that Calvin realized that he had reversed the order. In c.XXXVIb and c the same passages appear in the correct order. In c.XXII, drawn from c.Xa, the two sentences are in the wrong order, although they were originally—in c.Xa—in the right order. This suggests that the change came from a faulty memory. The blending of two biblical quotations in c.XXXIXa is done in a manner that suggests that it was accidental.

¹⁶² Infinitives are used in cc.I; IXb; XIVb, c and f; XVIb; XVII; XIXa; XXIII; XXVIIIc; XXX; XXXII; XXXIIIb, for the reason stated except in cc.XIVb; XXVIIIc. The reverse process is found in c.XVIIIb.

¹⁶³ Cc.XXIII; XXVI; XXXIIIb. The reverse is found in c.IXa where 'eos' becomes 'nos'. In c.XVII 'meum' becomes 'nostrum.'

¹⁶⁴ C.IXa: 'ipsius' and 'ea' become 'Dei' and 'anima'; c.XIIc: 'ecclesia' is added; c.XIVb: 'eum' becomes 'Romam'; c.XVIa: 'ille' becomes 'Petrus.'

There are other minor sources of inaccuracy. The faulty text in the anti-Anabaptist quotations appears to be due to the use of an intermediate source.¹⁶⁵ There are a number of instances where Calvin seems to have corrected the text of Bernard's biblical quotation or allusion.¹⁶⁶ The one French citation has of course all the inaccuracies of a translation.¹⁶⁷ Printers' errors account for some minor inaccuracies.¹⁶⁸

Finally, to restore a proper perspective, it should be remembered that Calvin does sometimes quote Bernard exactly.¹⁶⁹

Pseudo-Bernard

Calvin accused his opponents of making use of writings falsely attributed to Augustine and other fathers. Although his own record was not unblemished,¹⁷⁰ he compares well with his contemporaries and was diligent in making use of the best tools then available to distinguish *spuria* from genuine works. He never cited or mentioned pseudo-Bernard, no mean feat considering the wealth of apocryphal writings then circulating.¹⁷¹ In the fifteenth century 'Bernard' normally meant 'pseudo-Bernard.' Apocryphal works were especially numerous in the manuscripts and the majority of printed editions were spurious.¹⁷² The catalogues of Johann Trithemius and Conrad Gesner

¹⁶⁵ Cf. chapter 2, pp. 17–18.

¹⁶⁶ C.XI: toward the Vulgate of Eccl. 9.1; toward Calvin's text (from his commentary) of 1 Cor. 2.16 (in fact Bernard was quoting Rom. 11.34); toward Mark alone where Bernard blended it with Matthew. C.XXXVIIb: toward the Vulgate of Ezek. 36.22. C.XXXIXa: Matthean word added to Marcan and Lucan quotation. In c.Xb, however, the change is away from the text of Calvin's commentary (Ps. 71.16) whereas in c.XXXIXb (Ps. 103.17) and c.XLa (Rom. 8.33) the text of Calvin's commentary differs both from Bernard's text and from his quotation of it. (But note that the commentaries on Psalms and I Corinthians did not appear until after the 1543 *Institutio*.)

¹⁶⁷ C.XVIII.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. OS footnotes for cc.IXc; Xb; XIIc; XIVd.

¹⁶⁹ Cc.XIVd; XVIc; XXVIIIb; XXIX. The text of cc.XVIc; XLb differs slightly from BO but follows the sixteenth-century *Opera omnia* exactly.

¹⁷⁰ For Calvin's use of *spuria* in general, cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Mediaevals,' 185f.

¹⁷¹ Migne has more than two columns of pseudo-Bernard for every three of the genuine (PL 182–184) and he did not print all of the apocryphal writings. L. Janaushek, *Bibliographia Bernardina* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1891), IV–XIV, lists 120 *opem supposita* and 57 *poemata S. Bernardi adscripta*.

¹⁷² J. Leclercq, 'Études sur saint Bernard et le texte de ses écrits,' *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 9 (1953): 189f., reckons 130 of the 180 printed editions to be spurious. A count of editions listed in Janaushek, *Bibliographia Bernardina*, yields higher figures but the same proportions. For the years 1501 to 1564 alone Janaushek lists 131 editions of pseudo-Bernard against 47 of Bernard himself. But by no means all of the editions listed by Janaushek actually existed, as can be seen from Lane, 'Calvin's Sources,' 279–283. The apocryphal works include the *Flores*, which contain much genuine material; the genuine works include the *Opera omnia* which contain much spurious material.

list genuine and spurious works of Bernard intermingled and without distinction.¹⁷³ The *Opera omnia* contain many spurious works, most of which follow the genuine works and are, in most editions, preceded by a general warning:

Hactenus habes . . . opera a . . . Bernardo composita. Nam nonnulla alia . . . sua non sunt: nec eius stilum minusque spiritum redolent . . .¹⁷⁴

There are up to four other warnings relating to specific spurious works in the editions.¹⁷⁵ The situation was that with most editions by carefully reading the small print one would be made aware of the existence of *spuria* and have a reasonable idea of which writings were genuine. Calvin's avoidance of pseudo-Bernard simply reflects a diligent use of the critical scholarship available in the *Opera omnia*. This does not detract from his scholarly prowess since it is clear that the majority of his contemporaries either never read the small print in the *Opera omnia* or cared little for it. Luther and Bucer both used pseudo-Bernard, as did the *Catalogus testium veritatis* of Flacius Illyricus and the *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*. The editor of a work of Karlstadt comments on his use of Bernard that '*Selbstverständlich* sind auch die Ergänzungen der Predigten Bernhards zum Hohen Lied von Gilbert von Hoyland benutzt.'¹⁷⁶

THE ROLE OF BERNARD

Appeal to Bernard

Calvin's use of Bernard is primarily polemical. In at least thirty of the forty-one citations, Calvin is appealing to Bernard for support against an opponent. If the measurement is by length, rather than the number of citations, the proportion is considerably higher.¹⁷⁷ The controversial element looms large in

¹⁷³ J. Trithemius, *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* (Köln: P. Quentel, 1531), 70bf.; C. Gesnerus, *Bibliotheca universalis* (Zurich: C. Froschouer, 1545), 144b–145aff.

¹⁷⁴ This warning, found in all except IA 117:489 and IA 117:505, comes after the genuine works (except those relating to St. Malachy) and usually precedes most of the spurious works. IA 117:559 (the edition that Calvin probably used in Geneva) has differences in wording and also marks with an asterisk those items which 'a spiritu eius non admodum aliena esse putavimus,' a few of the *spuria* being so marked. No other edition does this.

¹⁷⁵ All of the editions explain in the introduction to the *Sermones Gilleberti super cantica canticorum* that they are not by Bernard; most editions also introduce the *Sermones nonnulli* . . . as spurious (IA 117:489, 505, 559 do not) and some also have a colophon at the end of these sermons repeating the warning (e.g., IA 117:472f., 485, 519); some editions (e.g., IA 117:549) note the existence of *spuria* in their final colophon.

¹⁷⁶ E. Kähler, ed., *Karlstadt und Augustin* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1952), 59 (italics mine).

¹⁷⁷ On a line count the ratio is more than six to one.

Calvin's use of Bernard, as in his use of the fathers in general.¹⁷⁸ Bernard, like the fathers, is a witness both to the antiquity of Calvin's teaching and to the decline of Rome from primitive purity.¹⁷⁹

Calvin's polemical use of Bernard is twofold: historical and doctrinal. Bernard is a historical witness to the corrupt state of the church in his time and possibly also to the absence then of a doctrine of transubstantiation.¹⁸⁰ More often, he is cited as a doctrinal authority, Calvin claiming Bernard's support both for his own teaching and against Roman error. Bernard is seen as a witness to the truth during the dark medieval centuries.¹⁸¹

Calvin's remaining use of Bernard falls into two categories. Occasionally he is critical of Bernard. In the first two citations Calvin criticizes Bernard's teaching on freewill, a judgement that he later reverses.¹⁸² Bernard is also linked with Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory as one who built on the right foundation but sometimes deviated from the pure word of God.¹⁸³ Second, Calvin occasionally cites Bernard for his elegant style, without any discernible polemical motive.¹⁸⁴ On other occasions the primary aim is polemical but is probably mixed with other motives, such as appreciation of Bernard's style. This applies especially to Bernard's word plays, which Calvin often quotes.¹⁸⁵

While the use of Bernard in the treatises is wholly polemical, in accordance with their purpose, none of the citations in the commentaries is polemical. The *Institutio* contains both types. There is also a progression in Calvin's use

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals,' 159–165. The same applies to Luther, for which C. Volz criticizes him ('Martin Luther's Attitude toward Bernard of Clairvaux' in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History*, J. F. O'Callaghan, ed. [Shannon: Irish University Press; Spencer: Cistercian Publications, 1971], 201f.) without acknowledging that it was normal in the sixteenth century.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals,' 165–167. Bernard, as well as Calvin, faced the charge of innovation (*Cri* 4:2:3).

¹⁸⁰ Cc.IV; XIII–XV; XXIII, for the state of the church; c.XLI, for transubstantiation.

¹⁸¹ Cf. pp. 30–31 of this work and Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals,' 178–180.

¹⁸² Cc.III; V–VIII; XXVIII; XXX; XXXI, but cc.I; II are never dropped from the *Institutio*.

¹⁸³ C.XX.

¹⁸⁴ Cc.XXIV; XXVI; XXXII; XXXIV, certainly; cc.XXVII; XXXVII; XXXVIII; XL, probably. For the use of rhetoric in SC 28, the source of c.XXVII, cf. L. Anderson, 'Enthymeme and Dialectic: Cloister and Classroom' in *From Cloister to Classroom*, E. R. Elder, ed. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1986), 259–268.

¹⁸⁵ Cc.III; IXc; Xa(3x); XIc; XIVb, e(2x) and f; XVI; XXII (2x); XXVI; XXXII; XXXIIIb; XXXVIb and c. On Bernard's use of word plays, cf. J. Figuet, 'Des jeux de mots de saint Bernard . . . à saint Bernard,' *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 52 (1990): 66–83; J. Leclercq, RESB 3:194–198, 4:55–63, 119, 202–205; D. Sabersky-Bascho, *Studien zur Paranomasie bei Bernhard von Clairvaux* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1979); idem, 'Nam iteratio, affectionis expressio est. Zum Stil Bernhards von Clairvaux,' *Cîteaux* 36 (1985): 5–20.

of Bernard from critical to polemical to non-polemical. It is evident that Calvin's earlier and always primary motivation was polemical but that he later also came to appreciate Bernard for himself. This literary use of Bernard began in 1554, with Calvin's renewed reading of him.

Status of Bernard

Calvin's attitude to Bernard can be seen in the introductions to his Bernardine citations.¹⁸⁶ The first two are critical. In the first citation Bernard is accused of having spoken 'obscurius.' The second citation ends with the comment that he had strayed far from Augustine's thought. But by the third citation (in the same work) Calvin could be appreciative of Bernard, beginning 'neque vero inepte Bernardus.' Thereafter the words of introduction grow steadily more appreciative:¹⁸⁷ 'vero,' 'Bernardum sequutus . . . proposueram,' 'cum Bernardo respondeo,' 'item cum Bernardo,' 'praeclare,' 'recte,' 'Bernardus quoque scite,' 'quanto rectius,' 'ita est sane,' 'pulchre,' and 'de re apposite.'¹⁸⁸ 'Admonitio' is used only of the illustrative quotations, being qualified as 'memoratu digna' and 'de re utilis.'¹⁸⁹ Other comments in the citations are as appreciative as the words of introduction.

In 1543 Calvin's original criticism of Bernard was replaced by the claim that Bernard (on the same subject of freewill), while not wholly on Calvin's side, supported him far more than his opponents.¹⁹⁰ A few years later, in 1546, he made it clear that his regard for Bernard was not unqualified and that he had often erred.¹⁹¹ This is an important statement as it shows that Calvin's failure

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Smits, SAOJC 1:262, 269, for Calvin's introductions to his Augustinian citations.

¹⁸⁷ While Calvin became more appreciative of Bernard, Luther throughout combined positive with negative comments: cf. LW 2:55, 269, 8:147, 17:393, 22:388, 26:460, 28:323, 45:363 (positive, the last being qualified); LW 9:130, 164, 22:254, 259, 273, 27:89, 36:186, 188, 190, 289, 38:159, 178, 52:249, 271 (Bernard erred). These passages do not support the contention of Mousnier, 'Saint Bernard et Luther,' 152f., that Luther became less appreciative of Bernard over the years. Cf. Lohse, 'Luther und Bernhard von Clairvaux,' 296–300. For Luther's positive assessment of Bernard in his final years, cf. Posset, 'The Elder Luther on Bernard.'

¹⁸⁸ Listed in chronological order of first appearance, these are found in cc.V; VII; Xa; XVb; XIXa, c.VIII, c.XVIa, c.XVII, cc.XXI; XXII; XXXVa, cc.XXVII; XXXVIII; XXXIXa, c.XXX, c.XXXIIIa, after c.XXXVI (*Inst.* 3:12:4 [OS 4:211]), c.XXXVII, c.XLa. As with Augustine, the language is less varied in the French translations. 'Bien' and 's'accorder' often appear.

¹⁸⁹ Cc.XXIV; XXXII (with 'memoratu digna'); c.XXXIV (with 'de re utilis').

¹⁹⁰ C.V. This qualified claim contrasts with the famous 'Augustinus . . . totus noster est' (*De aeterna dei praedestinatione* [CO 8:266]). Cf. J. M. J. Lange van Ravenswaay, *Augustinus totus noster* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990).

¹⁹¹ C.XX. Bernard's good intentions are affirmed: 'quum haberent hoc propositum ut in Christo aedificarent.'

to criticize Bernard does not mean that he found him flawless.¹⁹² While Luther did not hesitate to attack the fathers, Calvin was never eager to admit that he differed from them.¹⁹³ After the first two citations Calvin was always positive toward Bernard and any criticism was carefully moderated.

Bernard's status can also be seen from the contexts in which he is quoted. He is often quoted with the fathers.¹⁹⁴ For the corruption of the church he is quoted with Cyprian, Jerome, Leo I, and Gregory the Great.¹⁹⁵ He appears with Augustine not only alone but also in the company of Origen, Basil the Great, Chrysostom, and Prosper.¹⁹⁶ He is also cited at the end of three lists of patristic witnesses.¹⁹⁷ This suggests that Calvin saw Bernard as one of the fathers, and for this there is more positive evidence. Bernard appears in lists of 'vetusti Ecclesiae scriptores' and 'veteres.'¹⁹⁸ But these references to Bernard are later additions to earlier collections of patristic citations and Calvin may not have intended him to be included in the same category. Elsewhere, however, Bernard appears in a list of 'anciens docteurs,' as part of the original list.¹⁹⁹ Again, in a sermon he is linked with Ambrose and Augustine as fathers claimed by Rome and the context does not suggest that Calvin opposed the title.²⁰⁰ More significant is a list of Cyprian, Ambrose, and Augustine: . . . adde etiam si libet, ex recentioribus, Gregorium et Bernardum, aliosque eius notae . . .²⁰¹ Thus it appears that Calvin reckoned Bernard as one of the fathers, though born out of due time.

¹⁹² Calvin is at this point following traditional practice: 'Die mittelalterliche Verwendung von Autoritäten bedeutet nur selten die völlige Anerkennung eines früheren Theologen als solchen; sie ist eher der Versuch, sich in der Diskussion über eine bestimmte Frage Rückendeckung zu verschaffen, während man in anderem Zusammenhang durchaus offene Kritik üben kann' (H. A. Oberman, 'Simul gemitus et raptus: Luther und die Mystik' in *The Church, Mysticism, Sanctification and the Natural in Luther's Thought*, I. Asheim, ed. [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967], 25). The polemics of the Reformation created an even greater need for such a *Rückendeckung*.

¹⁹³ Cf. Smits, SAOJC 1:254. Luther was never reluctant to criticize Bernard, as the most cursory glance at his Bernardine citations will reveal.

¹⁹⁴ Mabillon described Bernard as 'ultimus inter Patres, sed primis certe non impar' (PL 182:26), a phrase used in the encyclical *Doctor Mellifluus* of pope Pius XII. Cf. O. Rousseau, 'S. Bernard, "Le dernier des Pères"' in SBT, 300-308; T. Merton, *The Last of the Fathers* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1954).

¹⁹⁵ Gregory alone (c.XIII); Gregory and Leo (cc.XIV; XV); Gregory, Jerome, and Cyprian (c.XXIII).

¹⁹⁶ Origen (c.I); Prosper (c.VII); Chrysostom (c.XII); Basil (c.XVII).

¹⁹⁷ (Pseudo-) Clement, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Ambrose, Basil, Origen, Hilary, Jerome, and Chrysostom (c.V); Irenaeus, Tertullian, Chrysostom, and Augustine (cc.XVIII; XIX).

¹⁹⁸ Cc.XII; XIX.

¹⁹⁹ C.XVIII.

²⁰⁰ C.XXV.

²⁰¹ C.XX.

Whereas Bernard is cited thirteen times with other fathers, he is cited a further nine times with Augustine alone.²⁰² In the first two citations he is set against Augustine,²⁰³ but this view of Bernard as the deviator from true Augustinianism was short-lived. From 1543 Bernard is seen as a great witness to Augustinianism. Bernard is linked with Augustine with an increasing enthusiasm: 'uno ore tradunt,' 'Bernardus quoque,' 'item cum Bernardo,' 'Augustino subscribens,' 'cui consentit Bernardus,' 'cui respondent praeclarae Bernardi sententiae,' and 'cui pulchre succinit Bernardus.'²⁰⁴ It is noteworthy that in one citation the quotation of Bernard actually replaces an earlier reference to (pseudo-) Augustine.²⁰⁵ Calvin's doctrine was not new but rather the doctrine which Augustine taught, which was shut up in the cloisters of monks for almost a thousand years.²⁰⁶ It was Peter Lombard who opened the door to pernicious error. The implication is that Bernard is the witness to Augustinianism during the middle ages, in opposition to scholastic error.²⁰⁷

Bernard also appears with other medievals. In the first citation he is criticized along with Anselm, Peter Lombard and the schoolmen, and Thomas Aquinas. In the second he follows Peter Lombard with 'sicut Bernardus' and shares the same charge of having strayed far from Augustine. Thereafter he appears as a witness to the truth in a dark age. He testifies to the corruption of the church and is set against the *Donatio Constantini* and later papal claims.²⁰⁸ He is cited as an example of the monastic Augustinianism that was subverted by scholasticism, beginning with Peter Lombard.²⁰⁹ He is set against the scholastic tradition, exemplified by Lombard, and introduced with 'quanto rectius Bernardus.'²¹⁰ Thus Bernard is a witness to the truth against medieval scholasticism, canon law, papal claims, and ecclesiastical corruption.

Finally, Bernard is cited in the context of Scripture.²¹¹ If Bernard's teaching is obscure, as with his use of *meritum*, it can be corrected by an exposition

²⁰² Cc.II; VI; X; XI; XXIV; XXVIII; XXIX; XXXV; XXXVII. Augustine also appears in eight of the thirteen citations with other fathers: cc.I; VII; XII; XVII-XX; XXV.

²⁰³ Cf. c.XX, where Bernard and Augustine are both stated to have erred and c.XIX where Augustine *appears* to differ from Bernard, whose view is approved.

²⁰⁴ C.VII, c.XI, c.XVII, c.XXVIIIa, c.XXIX, c.XXXVa, c.XXXVII.

²⁰⁵ C.XIX. Cf. c.XXXI where Bernard is cited under the name of Augustine.

²⁰⁶ C.XXVIIIe. For a similar comment by Luther, cf. LW 44:325.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals,' 178-180. For Bernard's Augustinianism, cf. I. Rigolot, 'Bernard de Clairvaux, lecteur d'Augustin,' *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 54 (1992): 132-144.

²⁰⁸ Cc.IV; XIII-XVI; XXIII. The papal claims are wrongly identified with the Council of Arles (OS 5:207, n. 5).

²⁰⁹ C.XXVIII.

²¹⁰ C.XXXIII.

²¹¹ Cc.XI; XII; XIX; XXI; XXII; XXXIX are followed by an appeal to Scripture.

of Scripture.²¹² After citing Bernard, Calvin adds that this is not really necessary as the words of Christ suffice.²¹³ Bernard's teaching, like that of all the fathers, is subject to Scripture.²¹⁴

For Calvin, therefore, Bernard is the latter-day monastic father who preserved Augustine's doctrine from medieval error, especially that of scholasticism and papal canon law. He often erred and is not completely on Calvin's side but the main thrust of his teaching points more in a Reformed than in a Roman direction. He is a witness to the preservation of true doctrine during the middle ages, showing that Calvin is no innovator. His teaching always remains subject to Scripture.

²¹² *Inst.* 3:15:3, following c.XII.

²¹³ C.XXXIXc.

²¹⁴ C.XX. Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Mediaevals,' 167-171. Luther also saw Bernard's teaching as subject to Scripture (LW 22:254, 36:186, 289, 38:159) and to be tested by Christ (LW 22:255, 264, 268, 52:183).

III

Calvin's Interpretation of Bernard

INTRODUCTION

Selectivity

An assessment of Calvin's interpretation of Bernard must include not just his principles of interpretation and his fidelity to them but also the range of Bernardine material that he considers. The works quoted form a limited, though not totally unrepresentative, selection of Bernard. Calvin quoted from *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, *De consideratione*, *Sermones in cantica*, *Sermones*, and *Epistolae*. The greatest gap in his repertoire lies in the monastic works: *Apologia*, *De praecepto et dispensatione*, and *De laude novae militiae*. The mystical Bernard is represented by the *Sermones in cantica* but *De diligendo Deo* and *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* are not mentioned.²¹⁵ *De conversione ad clericos* and *De moribus et officio episcoporum* are not named.²¹⁶ The other major works omitted are the *Vita S. Malachiae* and the *Sermones de diversis*. Calvin also makes no mention of the *Vita prima Bernardi*.²¹⁷

Calvin's failure to refer to a work does not prove his ignorance of it. His limited use of Bernard more likely reflects the limits of his interest in Bernard than the extent of his knowledge of Bernard. One possible exception lies in the *Epistola de erroribus Petri Abaelardi*. Since Calvin saw Bernard as a representative of the pure Augustinian tradition in opposition to decadent scholasticism, his rejection of Abelard could have provided Calvin with some useful

²¹⁵ Reid, 'Bernard Of Clairvaux,' 143, asserts that Calvin had read these two works, but offers no evidence.

²¹⁶ For the latter work, cf. footnotes to cc.IV; XIII in Appendix I.

²¹⁷ In marked contrast to Luther and the *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*. On the former, cf. note 230, below.

material. One must not, however, fall into the trap of supposing that Calvin sought to quote from Bernard at every possible point. His use of Bernard is occasional rather than systematic.

More important than the range of works cited is the range of topics. Is the Bernard that Calvin presents the monk of history or a fictitious forerunner of Reformed faith? There are three main areas within which Bernard is quoted: the doctrines of sin and grace, especially the bondage of the will; the rejection of merit and the importance of a full confidence and assurance before God; the corruption of the clergy and the papacy. Calvin also refers to Bernard for predestination, the state of the departed, and transubstantiation. These are all topics of major importance to Calvin, with the exception of the state of the departed, which prompted only two citations. Clearly Calvin's selection is strongly influenced by his own interests. But is it also representative of Bernard or is it a distorting selection? The three major areas are all important within Bernard's thought, two of them prompting whole works.²¹⁸ But there is much of Bernard that is ignored by Calvin. Monasticism was central in both the life and the thought of Bernard and yet from Calvin's citations one would scarcely be aware even that Bernard was a monk.²¹⁹ This is understandable when one remembers that Calvin was no admirer of monasticism and that he was generally seeking the support of Bernard rather than criticizing him.²²⁰ Another area passed over in silence is Bernard's interpretation of Scripture. While Calvin liked Bernard the preacher he would not have approved of Bernard the exegete. Bernard was a master of the art of allegory, to which Calvin was opposed.²²¹ Bernard is remembered especially for his mystical teaching. Calvin does quote from the *Sermones in Cantica* but his interest is primarily polemical (in his attack on freewill and merit) and secondarily literary (in his appreciation of Bernard's apt sayings). He shows no interest in the specifically mystical teaching of Bernard.²²² Thus it can be seen that Calvin focusses attention only on those parts of Bernard that accord with his own interests, and that this includes a significant sector of Bernard's thought though not the whole nor even the most central part.

²¹⁸ *Gm, Csi, Mor.*

²¹⁹ C.XXVIIIe indirectly reveals that Bernard was a monk.

²²⁰ Luther had no qualms about referring repeatedly and negatively to Bernard's monasticism.

²²¹ Luther criticized Bernard's exegesis (LW 45:363, 54:353) and his use of allegory (LW 2:164).

²²² Luther was both positive and negative about Bernard's mysticism (Voltz, 'Martin Luther's Attitude,' 191, 204). Cf. F. T. Ruhland, *Luther und die Brautmystik* (Giessen: Münchowsche Universitäts-Druckerei, 1938), 54–57, 140.

Principles of Interpretation

Smits discerns six principles employed by Calvin in his interpretation of Augustine.²²³ Four are internal: to give words the meaning that they had when the author wrote; to allow for the literary genre employed; to interpret passages in context; to use the light shed by parallel passages in the same author. Two are external: to take into account the person of the author and the age in which he lived.

With Bernard the evidence is meagre but it yields similar conclusions. Of the internal criteria, there is evidence that Calvin sought to interpret words according to the meaning that they had when written,²²⁴ to place them in context,²²⁵ and to use parallel passages.²²⁶ The evidence for his consideration of literary genre is more slender, but he does argue that Bernard spoke of merits in order to alarm antinomian hypocrites.²²⁷ This could be seen as an appeal to the literary genre of a sermon. There is no sign that Calvin knew or cared about the facts of Bernard's life, but it is dangerous to argue from silence. Smits' six principles are drawn from the many hundreds of Augustinian citations. It would be unreasonable to expect them all to manifest themselves in the far smaller number of Bernardine citations.²²⁸ Finally, Calvin was aware of the conditions of Bernard's age and indeed used him as a witness to them.

Calvin used the best humanist principles of interpretation, but the tools of humanist scholarship are used for a polemical end, not as a means to a detached impartial interpretation. The aim was to nullify Bernard's use of *meritum* and to highlight the gravity of ecclesiastical corruption in Calvin's own day. Calvin had a reason for showing interest in Augustine's life. Augustine changed his mind on the matter of grace and predestination and later rejected the semi-Pelagianism of his early writings.²²⁹ With Bernard there was no such obvious motive for interest in his biography.²³⁰ Thus both Calvin's use

²²³ Smits, SAOJC 1:248–252. These could all be paralleled in Calvin's methods of biblical interpretation (cf. H. J. Kraus, 'Calvin's Exegetical Principles,' *Interpretation* 31 [1977]: 13–17).

²²⁴ C.XXXVIc.

²²⁵ Cc.XIIb; XXXVIb are thus clarified by cc.XIIc; XXXVIc.

²²⁶ Cc.XXXVa; XXXVIa are thus clarified by cc.XXXVb; XXXVIb.

²²⁷ C.XXXVIc.

²²⁸ Mooi argues that Calvin misinterpreted *Csi* because he was unaware of the circumstances of its writing (KDE, 320, 341). Cf. chapter 3, p. 80.

²²⁹ *Inst.* 3:22:8, cited by Smits, SAOJC 1:252. Cf. J. Burnaby, 'The "Retractationes" of Saint Augustine: Self-criticism or Apologia?' in *Augustinus Magister. Congrès International Augustinien, Paris, 1954*, vol. 1 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1954), 85–92.

²³⁰ Luther mentions Bernard's life in order to attack his monasticism. He repeatedly notes that Bernard tortured his body in order to avoid lust (LW 4:273, 5:71, 17:298, 20:142, 22:335, 28:356, 30:27, 40, 232) and makes other anti-monastic comments (LW 5:3, 133, 7:34, 84f.,

of and his apparent neglect of critical principles can be explained in terms of his polemical aim.

SIN AND GRACE²³¹

Bondage of the Will

Calvin's first citation of Bernard, in 1539, was a disapproving quotation of his definition of free choice,²³² probably drawn from an intermediate source.²³³ But Calvin's attitude to Bernard soon became more positive and in 1543 he could claim that, were Bernard to arbitrate in the matter of free choice, Calvin would fare much better than Pighius, even if he might not win totally.²³⁴ This general claim is based on specific citations.

Calvin repeatedly appealed to Bernard's distinction between the will *per se* and a good or evil will. While will as such belongs to all human beings, an evil will flows from a corrupt nature and a good will flows from grace.²³⁵ In other words, the human will may be inalienable, but this does not mean that the fallen sinner can will the good. The will itself cannot be lost and is free from coercion (*coactio*) but fallen sinners are nonetheless under a 'necessitatis iugum' so that they necessarily sin. In 1543 Calvin claimed that this yoke of necessity following the Fall was taught 'uno ore' by Augustine, Prosper, and Bernard.²³⁶ This claim is supported in 1559 by specific quotations

307, 8:7, 15:335, 27:83f., 30:42, 230, 35:134, 36:77, 39:268, 44:288f., 309, 316). He repeatedly cites Bernard's confession that he had wasted his life and that he was trusting in Christ (LW 21:283, 22:52, 58, 269, 360, 387f., 26:5, 370, 27:85, 30:230, 296, 31:89, 33:77, 36:187, 44:290, 292f.). Luther believed that Bernard was here renouncing monasticism (LW 22:360, 387). Without this final renunciation of monastic works and trust in Christ alone Bernard would have been lost (LW 9:130, 21:283, 22:52, 360, 27:85, 44:293). It is to Calvin's credit that he did not make this sort of use of Bernard's life. On Luther's use of Bernard's 'perdite vixi,' cf. Bell, *Divus Bernhardus*, 127–133, 208–212, 290–292; F. Posset, 'St. Bernard's Influence on Two Reformers: John von Staupitz and Martin Luther,' *Cistercian Studies* 25 (1990): 182–187; Pranger, 'Perdite Vixi.'

²³¹ The aim of chapter 3 is not to assess Bernard's influence on Calvin, which is discussed in chapter 4, nor to attempt a general doctrinal comparison, but to assess the fidelity of Calvin's specific appeals to Bernard (on the assumption that Calvin's use of Bernard was primarily polemical). Since the point at issue is the accuracy of Calvin's interpretation of Bernard, there is more discussion of the literature on Bernard's than on Calvin's theology.

²³² So far as is reasonably possible, the words 'voluntas' and 'arbitrium' are consistently translated 'will' and 'choice.' The common practice of translating '(liberum) arbitrium' as '(free) will' serves only to obscure the distinctions between the 'voluntas' and 'arbitrium' and causes severe problems where the two words are used in the same sentence.

²³³ C.I.

²³⁴ C.V. Calvin charged Pighius with holding to free choice in the sense of 'potentiam vel facultatem boni aequae ac mali eligendi' (CO 6:303).

²³⁵ C.III. This is repeated in cc.VIII; XXXI, which are considered in chapter 3, pp 43–47.

²³⁶ C.VII, in which he is defending the doctrine of necessity against the attacks of Pighius in his *De libero hominis arbitrio et divina gratia* (Köln: M. Novesianus, 1542), *passim*.

in which Bernard teaches that fallen human beings are under a voluntary necessity to sin.²³⁷ While they are free they suffer from a kind of violence arising from their own will. This affects the will so that sin becomes necessary. But because it is voluntary (i.e., arising from the will), this necessity does not excuse the will. Because the human race voluntarily made itself a slave of sin it is held under a yoke of voluntary servitude. Thus people are both enslaved (because of the necessity of sin) and free (because of their will). Human freedom has led to guilt which has led to bondage and so, ironically, people are enslaved because they are free.²³⁸

In these citations Calvin claims support for his doctrine that people sin necessarily and yet voluntarily, not being coerced.²³⁹ This distinction between necessity and coercion is supported by an appeal to the examples of the devil, who sins necessarily, and God, who cannot decline from the good but nonetheless acts freely.²⁴⁰ Calvin's pessimistic view of human nature is further supported by a reminder from Bernard that if such a horrible fall could take place in paradise, we are capable of much worse now that we are fallen.²⁴¹

This interpretation of Bernard is contradicted by Calvin's second citation, in 1539.²⁴² There Bernard is accused of teaching that while the good will is a work of God, people can seek such a will of their own accord. This misinterpretation, which may well be derived from Gabriel Biel or a similar figure,²⁴³ is clearly rejected by Calvin's later citations, though it remained in the text of the *Institutio*.

Calvin disapproved of Bernard's definition of free choice, but for its obscurity rather than its content.²⁴⁴ In fact Bernard defined the term (*liberum arbitrium*) with care.²⁴⁵ The difference between human beings and irrational animals is that whereas both have natural appetites, only the former have the

²³⁷ Cc.XXVIII; XXX. Bavaud, 'Les rapports,' 329, accepts the validity of Calvin's appeal to Bernard at this point.

²³⁸ There is more in SC 81:7-10, 82:5 that Calvin could have quoted to support his case.

²³⁹ Cf. A. N. S. Lane, 'Did Calvin Believe in Freewill?', *Vox Evangelica* 12 (1981): 77-81.

²⁴⁰ C.VI, in response to Pighius, *De libero arbitrio*, 12bff., 40a-41b. The same examples are used in the 1539 *Institutio*, shortly after c.III, and in the 1559 *Institutio*, shortly before c.XXX, but Bernard is not explicitly cited on either occasion.

²⁴¹ C.XXIV.

²⁴² C.II.

²⁴³ For Biel's interpretation of Bernard and Calvin's possible dependence upon Biel, cf. chapter 2, p. 8. OS 3:248, n. 3 refers to *Gm* 16:46 (in error for 14:46), but in that passage Bernard actually rejects the view fathered onto him by Calvin. A more likely source is *Gm* 4:10, which will be considered shortly. Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 30f., agrees that c.II misinterprets Bernard.

²⁴⁴ C.I.

²⁴⁵ For a brief exposition, cf. O. Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale aux XIIe et XIIIe Siècles*, vol. 1 (Louvain: Abbaye de Mont César; Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1942), 19f.

faculty of voluntary consent. This is 'habitus animi, liber sui.' Being voluntary, it cannot be subject to coercion or to necessity. 'Ubi ergo consensus, ibi voluntas. Porro ubi voluntas, ibi libertas. Et hoc est quod dici puto liberum arbitrium.'²⁴⁶ Will (*voluntas*) can be defined as 'motus rationalis, et sensui praesidens, et appetitui.'²⁴⁷ But the function of reason is to instruct the will, not to destroy it, for 'ubi quippe necessitas, iam non voluntas.'²⁴⁸ Free consent of the will is the distinctive feature of humanity. 'Is ergo talis consensus ob voluntatis inamissibilem libertatem, et rationis, quod secum semper et ubique portat, indeclinabile iudicium, non incongrue dicitur, ut arbitror, liberum arbitrium, ipse liber sui propter voluntatem, ipse iudex sui propter rationem.'²⁴⁹

While Bernard held firmly to the inalienable nature of *liberum arbitrium*, Calvin did not at all like the term. But he was prepared to accept that it could be used in a sound sense and conceded free choice in Augustine's sense to fallen humanity.²⁵⁰ 'Liberi ergo arbitrii hoc modo dicitur homo, non quia liberam habeat boni aequae ac mali electionem: sed quia male voluntate agit, non coactione. Optime id quidem.'²⁵¹ But Calvin considered free choice too proud a title for so small a matter. While he was willing to accept *liberum arbitrium* in the Augustinian sense, he considered the wisest course to be the abolition of the term.²⁵² When Augustine and Bernard defended free choice they were affirming the 'ontological' freedom of the will. Calvin did not deny this ontological freedom, indeed he conceded it, but he had little interest in it. His primary concern was to deny the ethical freedom of the will, which was the usual meaning given to *liberum arbitrium* in his day. In his denial of this ethical freedom of the will Calvin was at one with Augustine and Bernard. The differences between them lie mainly in the areas of emphasis and terminology.²⁵³

Crucial to Calvin's case is his doctrine of necessity. Fallen humanity is under a necessity of sinning, though not under coercion. This teaching appears to be totally opposed to Bernard's position, as expounded in his *De gratia et libero arbitrio*.²⁵⁴ Here Bernard argues that free choice is a voluntary consent which

²⁴⁶ *Gm* 1:2 (BO 3:167).

²⁴⁷ *Gm* 2:3 (BO 3:168).

²⁴⁸ *Gm* 2:4 (BO 3:168).

²⁴⁹ *Gm* 2:4 (BO 3:169), part of which is quoted in c.I.

²⁵⁰ *Inst.* 2:2:8.

²⁵¹ *Inst.* 2:2:7 (OS 3:249).

²⁵² *Inst.* 2:2:7f.

²⁵³ Bavaud, 'Les rapports,' 330–333, discerns two differences between Calvin and Bernard in their understanding of human freedom, but these amount to little more than Calvin's reluctance to accept the term *liberum arbitrium*. Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 33, speaks of a 'subtle but real difference,' but this amounts simply to Calvin's unwillingness to use the word 'freedom.'

²⁵⁴ 'Wir haben hier [*Gm*] ein Beispiel der traditionellen katholischen Lehre von der Willensfreiheit, die sich in dieser Frage von der protestantischen Auffassung stark unterscheidet' (U.

is self-determining ('*liber sui*') and under no coercion or necessity.²⁵⁵ The consent of the will is indispensable for all merit or demerit as no one is responsible for that to which they do not freely consent. The will cannot of its very nature do other than obey itself—it can no more lose its freedom than lose itself.²⁵⁶ But a careful distinction is made between three different types of freedom. *Liberum arbitrium* is the *libertas a necessitate* which all people have from nature. *Liberum consilium* is the *libertas a peccato* which is given by grace. *Liberum complacitum* is the *libertas a miseria* which belongs to glory.²⁵⁷ Freedom from necessity is absolutely inalienable and cannot be lost by the will in any condition of holiness or depravity.²⁵⁸ The other two freedoms were possessed by Adam in paradise, but not so that they could not be lost. He had the gift of *posse non peccare/turbari* but not yet *non posse peccare/turbari*. Through the Fall we have lost both of these freedoms so that we are now in the position of *non posse non peccare/turbari*.²⁵⁹ These freedoms can both be recovered by grace, but only partially in this life.²⁶⁰

Bernard twice cites the example of God and his holy angels together with the devil and his fallen angels. The first group is always good and the second always evil and yet both are free, not being subject to any extrinsic necessity or coercion. Thus captivity of the mind does not disprove freedom of will, which is found as fully in the wicked as in the good, though in a less ordered state.²⁶¹ Again, the example shows how freedom of choice implies not the equal possibility of good and evil but only that the will is equally free whichever it chooses, because it is willing.²⁶² Free choice does not imply the ability either to will or to perform the *good*.²⁶³

Faust, 'Bernhards "Liber de gratia et libero arbitrio,"' *Analecta Monastica* 6 [= *Studia Anselmiana* 50] [Rome, 1962]: 39. Cf. pp. 36, 43, 50f.)

²⁵⁵ *Gm* 1:2 (BO 3:167).

²⁵⁶ *Gm* 2:4f. It is possible for someone to lose the use of their will (e.g., when insane) but not for the will to lose its freedom.

²⁵⁷ *Gm* 3:6–4:12.

²⁵⁸ *Gm* 3:6f., 4:9f. and *passim*.

²⁵⁹ *Gm* 7:21–23.

²⁶⁰ *Gm* 5:15, 8:25f., 9:28f.

²⁶¹ *Gm* 4:9.

²⁶² *Gm* 10:35. Cf. *Gm* 2:5, where Bernard argues that the will could only be deprived of its freedom if a person were able to will nothing at all or to will something unwillingly. It is the *spontaneity* of the will that Bernard seeks to safeguard by his concept of liberty (cf. *Gm* 2:3, 4:9). Cf. A. Forest, 'L'Experience de Consentement selon saint Bernard,' *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorem* 18 (1956): 270

²⁶³ *Gm* 8:24. M-B. Said, 'The Doctrine of Grace in St. Bernard,' *Cistercian Studies* 16 (1981): 15–29, fails to grasp this distinction adequately. She states that free choice 'makes us masters of our own destiny' (24, cf. 17). She states that fallen humanity has the will to do good, but needs grace to supply the strength (24).

Free choice gives us the ability to will but not the power to *do* what we will. This is not to suggest that fallen humanity can will the *good* without grace.²⁶⁴ While the will itself comes from creative grace, the good will is a gift of saving grace.²⁶⁵ There is a clear distinction between *velle* or the ability to will (freedom from necessity), *sapere* or the ability to will the good (freedom from sin) and *posse* or the ability to perform the good (freedom from misery).²⁶⁶ No one even attempts to do good until moved by grace.²⁶⁷ The Fall leaves humanity unable not to sin, with free choice unimpaired but freedom from sin and misery gone. In our fallen state we are unable to will the good, having lost not freedom from necessity but freedom from sin.²⁶⁸

For Bernard *liberum arbitrium* or *libertas a necessitate* is entirely compatible with the captivity of the mind to sin. It is equally compatible with the states of *non posse non peccare* and *non posse peccare*, the conditions of unredeemed fallen humanity and of humanity in glory.²⁶⁹ Fallen sinners cannot avoid sin and are incapable of willing the good. Free choice means that they sin spontaneously and voluntarily;²⁷⁰ it has nothing to do with the range of choices that they are able to make or with their ability to change their will.²⁷¹ It simply asserts that what they do will, they will willingly. It is this free consent that makes them responsible agents liable to reward and punishment.

²⁶⁴ *Gra* 6:16. Cf. *Gra* 4:10, where Bernard discusses the case of someone who wills to possess a good will but cannot. He points out that the very will to possess a good will is itself the fruit of a good will. J. Leclercq, *Saint Bernard Mystique* (Bruges: de Brouwer, 1948), 101, errs here: fallen humanity 'possède le "vouloir" de faire le bien, mais son "pouvoir" est entravé par la contradiction qu'y apporte l'attrait du mal.' Father Leclercq responded to this point in a private letter of 8 February 1982: 'I wrote in '46, before knowing Bernard.' Similarly, P. Mellet, *Notes sur le désir de Dieu chez Saint Bernard* (Valais: Notre-Dame de Gérone, 1966): 'C'est la volonté qui veut, la grâce l'aide a vouloir fermement' (p. 11).

²⁶⁵ *Gra* 6:16, 18f.

²⁶⁶ *Gra* 8:24.

²⁶⁷ *Gra* 13:42. G. D. Venuta, *Libero arbitrio e libertà della grazia nel pensiero di S. Bernardo* (Rome: F. Ferrari, 1953), 101–108, claims that Bernard teaches the possibility of natural virtues without grace, for which he is justly chided by McGinn, *Introduction*, 23.

²⁶⁸ *Gra* 3:6f., 4:11, 8:24.

²⁶⁹ *Gra* 8:24, 10:35. Cf. Venuta, *Libero arbitrio*, 75: 'La necessità dunque che è contro la libertà, è appunto quella che è imposta da un agente esterno; estraneo alla volontà.' Similarly, L. Sartori argues that Bernard excludes any 'necessità estrinseca' or 'coazione estranea' of the will ("Natura e Grazia" nella Dottrina di S. Bernardo, *Studia Patavina* 1 [1954]: 48).

²⁷⁰ Cf. McGinn, *Introduction*, 25: 'Where we have a subject acting spontaneously and free from external coercion, we have free choice.' In *Gra* 12:38–40 Bernard argues that we are responsible for acts performed under coercion (e.g., the threat of death) only inasmuch as we do them willingly, i.e., with the consent of the will.

²⁷¹ Brümmer, 'Calvin, Bernard and the Freedom of the Will,' 440, 453, reads more than this into Bernard's concept of free choice, distinguishing it sharply from 'freedom of consent.' Cf. idem, *Model of Love*, 45. N. den Bok, 'Human and Divine Freedom in the Theology of Bernard of Clairvaux,' *Bijdragen. Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie* 54 (1993): 271–295, presents a considerably more subtle exposition of Bernard which nonetheless leans in the same direction.

Surprisingly, Bernard once states in this treatise that 'liberum arbitrium' is not destroyed by 'quaecumque adversitas vel necessitas'.²⁷² This contradicts the argument throughout the treatise that free choice precludes necessity. It is clear that Bernard did not confine himself to a rigidly consistent use of words. Fidelity to his thought cannot be tested by the mere use of the formula 'freedom from necessity.' Indeed, Bernard himself later radically departed from his earlier usage. There is a detailed exposition of the present subject in his sermons on the Song of Solomon. He significantly concludes it by referring to his *De gratia et libero arbitrio* where the teaching on the *imago Dei* is 'diversa fortassis . . . sed, ut arbitror, non adversa.' But immediately afterwards he leaves it to the reader to judge which of the two to approve.²⁷³ Some have concluded that there is indeed a difference between the teaching of the treatise and the sermons on this matter.²⁷⁴ It remains therefore an open question whether or not there is also a change in teaching about free choice and necessity.²⁷⁵

Merit presupposes freedom. Animals therefore have none, being without freedom and directed by sense and appetite.²⁷⁶ But human beings act freely, because voluntarily. They are not under any constraint from their nature. They have no excuse because they sin voluntarily.²⁷⁷ The will may be enslaved, but it is not held unwillingly.²⁷⁸ In the sermons, as in the treatise,

²⁷² *Gm* 8:24 (BO 3:184). It seems that the only modern work on Bernard to draw attention to this passage is Venuta, *Libero arbitrio*, 75. Cf. also *Gm* 5:14 where Bernard states that corporal pleasures require the drive of necessity ('urgens necessitas') (BO 3:176).

²⁷³ SC 81:11 (BO 2:291). *Gm* was one of Bernard's earliest works, 'ante an. 1128, ut videtur' (BO 3:XI) and SC 81 one of his last, from after March 1148 (BO 1:XVI). Cf. Anderson, 'The *Imago Dei* Theme,' for a comparison of the teaching of Bernard and Calvin on this theme. For a discussion of the anthropology of SC 80–83, cf. D. Heller, 'Die Bibel als Grundlage der Anthropologie Bernhards von Clairvaux,' *Analecta Cisterciensia* 46 (1990): 123–140. More generally, cf. H. de Lubac, 'A propos de la formule: *Diversi, sed non adversi*,' *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 40 (1951–1952): 27–40.

²⁷⁴ J. Daniélou, 'Saint Bernard et les pères grecs,' SBT, 52f., argues that the Augustinian teaching of *Gm* on the relation of the *imago* and *similitudo Dei* is replaced in SC 82 by that of Gregory of Nyssa. R. Javelet, 'La Réintroduction de la Liberté dans les Notions d'Image et de Ressemblance, conçues comme Dynamisme' in *Der Begriff der Repraesentatio im Mittelalter* (Berlin and New York: Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 1971), 24, takes a similar line. McGinn, *Introduction*, 28–33; idem, 'Freedom, Formation and Reformation: The Anthropological Roots of Saint Bernard's Spiritual Teaching,' *Analecta Cisterciensia* 46 (1990): 92–96, 113f.; M. Standaert, 'La doctrine de l'image chez saint Bernard,' *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 23 (1947): 90–92, argue for an underlying consistency of approach.

²⁷⁵ Cf. U. Köpf, *Religiöse Erfahrung in der Theologie Bernhards von Clairvaux* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1980), 71–81, which appeared after the preparation of this section.

²⁷⁶ SC 81:6.

²⁷⁷ SC 81:7.

²⁷⁸ SC 81:8.

Bernard's concern is to show the spontaneous and voluntary consent of the will to whatever it wills. We are responsible for all that we will.

But in addition to being free, fallen humanity 'patitur quamdam vim.' This constraint comes from the person's own will, not (as with animals) from nature, and so innate human freedom is preserved. Being changed for the worse by sin, 'ipsa sibi voluntas . . . necessitatem facit.' This necessity, being voluntary, does not excuse the will and the will, being enticed, is not immune from necessity. 'Est enim necessitas haec quodammodo voluntaria.' The will, when it was free, made itself a slave of sin by consenting to sin and it is the will which holds itself under sin by serving it voluntarily.²⁷⁹ Since the will is constrained willingly it constrains itself. Being the will, it cannot be held unwillingly. Therefore it has no excuse since it is willingly that it both becomes and remains a slave.²⁸⁰ Thus the soul 'sub hac voluntaria quadam ac male libera necessitate, et ancilla tenetur, et libera.' It is both free (because of its will) and bound (because of the necessity). It is guilty because free and bound because guilty and therefore, paradoxically, bound because free.²⁸¹

This later teaching on the freedom of the will is not substantially different from that of the earlier treatise. The major change lies in the *use* of the word *necessitas*. The *necessitas* of the sermons does not differ from the *non posse non peccare* of the treatise—i.e., it is the loss of *libertas a peccato*, not of *libertas a necessitate*. The *libertas a necessitate* of the treatise is the inalienable freedom of the sermons: people will voluntarily and are not constrained by nature. The will partakes of an inalienable freedom and yet is under the bondage of sin. The freedom of the will is necessary in order to allow its servitude, prevent its destruction and preserve its responsibility.

There is a verbal difference between Calvin and the early Bernard (of the treatise) concerning the idea of necessity, but there is substantial agreement in content. It is significant that Calvin in principle approved of Bernard's famous distinction between three types of freedom.²⁸² He was happy with the distinction, except for the confusion between necessity and coercion. But Bernard's 'freedom from necessity' is substantially Calvin's 'freedom from co-

²⁷⁹ SC 81:7 (BO 2:288). Cf. SC 82:5: 'voluntaria illa necessitas' and 'manente libertate propter voluntatem, servilis nihilominus conversatio necessitatem probat' (BO 2:295).

²⁸⁰ SC 81:8.

²⁸¹ SC 81:9 (BO 2:289).

²⁸² *Inst.* 2:2:5. Calvin found the distinction in Peter Lombard but it is probably original to Bernard (E. Kleineidam, 'De triplici libertate. Anselm von Laon oder Bernhard von Clairvaux?', *Cîteaux* 11 (1960): 56–62. Kleineidam's argument has been widely accepted (McGinn, *Introduction*, 19f.). Brümmer, 'Calvin, Bernard and the Freedom of the Will,' 438, claims Calvin's dependence upon Bernard for the distinction, but is unaware that it was introduced in 1539 when Calvin's knowledge of Bernard was fragmentary.

ercion' while Calvin's 'necessity' is substantially Bernard's 'bondage to sin'.²⁸³ The verbal distinction between necessity and coercion is not found in Bernard and Calvin learnt it elsewhere.²⁸⁴ But the substance of the distinction is found in Bernard, both in the treatise and in the sermon. Calvin and Bernard agree in affirming an intrinsic bondage of the will to sin and in denying any external constraint. Although they differ in terminology there is a broad agreement in substance.²⁸⁵ The terminological difference is less between Calvin and the Bernard of the sermon. Calvin was justified in claiming that Bernard gave far more support to his doctrine of the bondage of the will than to Pighius's doctrine of freewill.

Grace

Pighius accused Calvin of teaching in his 1539 *Institutio* that grace destroys the will.²⁸⁶ Calvin, in his self-defence, drew upon the Bernardine distinction between the will itself, an evil will and a good will.²⁸⁷ The first of these signifies the faculty or substance of the will. The other two signify qualities or habits of the will. In conversion it is the habit of the will that is changed while the substance of the will remains intact.²⁸⁸

Bernard certainly did not believe that grace destroys the will. God changes

²⁸³ Cf. M. M. J. Smits van Waesberghe, 'Het beeld van de mens bij Sint Bernardus' in *Sint Bernardus* (Utrecht and Antwerp: Het Spectrum, 1953), 57; McGinn, *Introduction*, 21.

²⁸⁴ The distinction is found in the scholastics, such as Anselm (*Cur Deus Homo* 2:17; *De concordia* 1:2); Thomas Aquinas (*Summa theologiae* I q. 82, a.1; I/2 q.112, a.3; III q.14, a.2. Cf. B. J. F. Lonergan, *Grace and Freedom* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd; New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), 51, 93f.; Robert Holcot and Gabriel Biel (H. A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967, 2nd edition], 168, 172f., 246). This is not to imply that these writers used the distinction consistently or in the same way as Calvin. The distinction is also found in Luther (*De servo arbitrio*, WA 18:634) and, more consistently, in Bucer (e.g., *Commentary on Romans in Common Places of Martin Bucer*, D. F. Wright, ed. [Appleford: Sutton Courtenay, 1972], 102). Cf. J. Bohatec, *Budé und Calvin* (Graz: Hermann Böhlhaus, 1950), 354f. Calvin probably learnt the distinction from Luther or Bucer.

²⁸⁵ 'Free choice is free for Bernard, but free only to sin' (McGinn, *Introduction*, 23). Wendel, *Calvin*, 190, remarks (w.r.t. c.III) that there are 'some shades of difference' between Bernard and Calvin. Mooi, KDE, 322, heightens this. It is not here claimed that there is total agreement between Bernard and Calvin. Calvin's own claim was more modest (c.V). A rather different interpretation of Bernard is found in H. Geurs, *Te Bevrijden Vrijheid* (Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1976), 48-72, especially 48-58. He sees a sharp contrast between Augustine and Bernard and accuses the latter of leaving the Augustinian tradition and moving in a Pelagian direction: 'mijn oordeel is dat Bernard door een gedeeltelijke onverliesbaarheid van de keuzevrijheid te verkondigen in het spoor van Pelagius is terecht gekomen' (p. 55). He pays much attention to Bernard's teaching on the will as created, but not so much to the effects of the Fall. There is a useful summary of his thesis on pp. 88f.

²⁸⁶ Pighius, *De libero arbitrio*, 88b-90aff.

²⁸⁷ C.VIII.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Lane, 'Did Calvin Believe in Freewill?', 81-83.

the will from evil to good, but in doing this 'transferat, non auferat libertatem'.²⁸⁹ Bernard maintains this position by distinguishing, as Calvin notes, between *velle*, which is inalienable, and *bene velle*, which is a gift of grace.²⁹⁰ The former he calls *liberum arbitrium* or freedom from necessity and the latter he calls freedom from sin. Calvin's position is basically the same, though he was not keen to use the term *liberum arbitrium* and he spoke of freedom from coercion rather than freedom from necessity.

Calvin made further use of the Bernardine distinction between will and good will to resolve another difficulty. He was accused of teaching that, because all is of grace, God moves us as one might move a stone and that we do nothing. He replied that it is true that we are acted upon by God, but it is also true that we ourselves act. God's action is not a substitute for ours but rather its very basis. This is established by the Bernardine principle that to will is of nature but to will well is of grace.²⁹¹

Bernard supports this view of the relation between divine grace and the human will. His *De gratia et libero arbitrio* was written in response to the objection that if all is God's work there is no room for human work.²⁹² In reply Bernard insisted that grace does not destroy free choice.²⁹³ 'Nemo quippe salvatur invitus'.²⁹⁴ But this does not mean that grace leads a person so far and that free choice then takes over. Grace and free choice work together throughout. Every good will and action is performed by grace and free choice together, 'mixtim, non singillatim, simul, non vicissim'.²⁹⁵ But this happens in such a way that grace always has the priority. The relation between grace and freewill is between that 'a quo fit' and that 'in quo fit'.²⁹⁶ Thus, 'non partim gratia, partim liberum arbitrium, sed totum singula opere individuo peragunt: totum quidem hoc, et totum illa, sed ut totum in illo, sic totum ex illa'.²⁹⁷

The roles of grace and free choice are complementary, not competitive. The role of free choice is to be saved. Without free choice there is nothing to be saved; without grace there is nothing to save it. God gives salvation and free choice cooperates by receiving it, for 'consentire enim salvari est'.²⁹⁸ The sole role and merit of free choice is to consent and even this consent is not 'ab

²⁸⁹ *Gm* 11:36 (BO 3:191). Cf. *Gm* 2:5.

²⁹⁰ *Gm* 6:16, 18–20, 8:24–26.

²⁹¹ C.XXXI.

²⁹² *Gm* 1:1.

²⁹³ *Gm* 11:36 (BO 3:191). Cf. *Gm* 2:5.

²⁹⁴ *Gm* 11:36 (BO 3:191).

²⁹⁵ *Gm* 14:47 (BO 3:200).

²⁹⁶ *Gm* 1:2 (BO 3:166).

²⁹⁷ *Gm* 14:47 (BO 3:200).

²⁹⁸ *Gm* 1:2 (BO 3:167).

ipso.²⁹⁹ It is brought about by the Spirit of the Lord, not by free choice.³⁰⁰ In other words, 'Deo [nos] subicit eius gratia, non nostra voluntas.'³⁰¹

Grace alone saves, and does not need any "cooperation" in the sense of assistance. But while grace is the efficient cause of salvation, free choice is its material cause. Free choice is the very thing which is saved. Salvation is the liberation of free choice from sin. To be saved means to consent to grace; and consenting is the function of free choice. God cannot save without free choice, for without it there would be nothing to save. The necessity of free choice for salvation, therefore, does not violate the divine omnipotence, because it is a logical, not a psychological, necessity.³⁰²

Calvin also cited Bernard in his treatment of operating and cooperating grace.³⁰³ He was suspicious of this distinction for a number of reasons. Among these was his fear that it could imply that our works are not of grace alone.³⁰⁴ In opposition to such an idea Calvin cited Augustine to the effect that grace is at work in every stage in our good deeds. He added a brief quotation in which Bernard represents the church as praying for God to make her willing and to make her run.³⁰⁵ The Augustine quotation consists of two parts: the unconverted need *prevenient* operating grace and the converted need *continuing* grace. Grace anticipates those who are unwilling and follows them when they are willing.³⁰⁶ The Bernardine quotation has an apparently similar contrast between the '*invitam*' who is made willing and the '*torpentem*' who is made to run, and this is probably why Calvin chose it. But in its original context the meaning is different. Bernard was referring to the Christian who is in a state of grace and yet is lukewarm and in the condition described in Romans 7.³⁰⁷ 'Unwilling' here is to be taken in the sense of 'lethargic.' Thus the Bernardine quotation, which apparently echoes the twofold nature

²⁹⁹ *Gm* 14:46 (BO 3:199).

³⁰⁰ *Gm* 10:35, 13:43.

³⁰¹ *Gm* 6:18 (BO 3:179).

³⁰² G. B. Burch in Bernard, *The Steps of Humility* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1963), 21f. Geurs, *Tē Bevrijden Vrijheid*, 73–78, argues that Bernard's doctrine of grace, as his doctrine of the will, departs radically from the Augustinian tradition. 'Deze gedachtengang is door ons pelagiaans genoemd' (p. 87).

³⁰³ C.II appears within the setting of a discussion of this distinction, but its content relates to chapter 3, pp. 36–43. It comes while Calvin is discussing operating, not cooperating, grace. Bavaud, 'Les rapports', 333, is confused here.

³⁰⁴ *Inst.* 2:3:12. Cf. Lane, 'Did Calvin Believe in Freewill?', section VI.2.

³⁰⁵ C.XXIX. Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 34, reaches a similar conclusion about this citation.

³⁰⁶ *Inst.* 2:3:12 (OS 3:288).

³⁰⁷ Cf. SC 21:1, especially, where Romans 7 is twice cited.

of grace as described by Augustine, in fact refers only to the second aspect of grace, grace given to the converted. Calvin's appeal to Bernard is justified inasmuch as this quotation supports the second half of Augustine's statement. But the impression given that the quotation supports both halves of Augustine's statement, as Calvin quoting from memory probably thought it did, is incorrect. However, the first part of Augustine's statement, the need for prevenient operating grace, is supported elsewhere in Bernard, even though not in the passage here quoted.

Bernard accepted the Augustinian distinction between operating and co-operating grace but he did not understand this in a synergistic way such that grace leads a person so far and free choice then takes over. Operating grace is prevenient and by it God works in people to think, to will and to perform. He first 'prevents' us by sowing good thoughts, which he does 'sine nobis' and 'nec per nos utique, nec nobiscum'.³⁰⁸ This involves bringing things to remembrance or admonishing the memory and teaching the reason. Grace also moves the will.³⁰⁹ This last God does 'nobiscum': by changing the evil will he joins it to himself through consent. Although not done 'ex nobis' this is nonetheless not done 'sine nobis'.³¹⁰ It could not be done *sine nobis* since the will would not in fact have been changed did it not consent. But this does not mean that free choice in any way brings about the change or that it is even the source (as opposed to the agent) of the consent. The consent of the will is by definition the act of the will but it is also the fruit or result of the change of the will, not the cause of it. Grace is efficacious, not merely sufficient.³¹¹

Once grace has evoked a person's consent it becomes cooperating grace, for to consent is to cooperate. The whole purpose of operating grace is to bring

³⁰⁸ *Gm* 14:46 (BO 3:199). For the prevenience of grace, cf. also *SC* 21:11, 32:7, 67:10, 78:6, 84:3-5; *Dil* 7:22; *Ep* 107:6, 8.

³⁰⁹ *Gm* 11:36, 14:47; *Pent* 1:5f. Cf. *Asc* 3:2: 'Duo ergo sunt quae in nobis purganda sunt, intellectus et affectus: intellectus, ut noverit; affectus, ut velit' (BO 5:132).

³¹⁰ *Gm* 14:46 (BO 3:199).

³¹¹ Cf. Venuta, *Libero arbitrio*: 'Ma anche nell'atto del mutamento operato da Dio, la volontà resta libera, non perché ci sia anche una remota possibilità di scelta, ma perché è sempre la volontà che vuole, passando dalla difformità alla conformità con la volontà di Dio' (p. 77). M. Simonetti, 'L'agostinismo del "De gratia et libero arbitrio" di Bernardo di Clairvaux,' *Studi Medievali* 17 (1976): 275-291, argues (w.r.t. *Gm* only) that while Bernard is an Augustinian, his Augustinianism is purged of 'le punte inaccettabili (irresistibilità della grazia, predestinazione in senso stretto)' (p. 278). But he fails to demonstrate that Bernard does not hold to efficacious grace. Brümmer, 'Calvin, Bernard and the Freedom of the Will,' 451f., 455, also portrays grace as less than efficacious. This stems in part from his limiting the work of grace to enlightenment, strength, and wisdom (442-444). Cf. idem, *Model of Love*, 178f., where it is argued that 'God grants us the ability also to turn away from him.'

human free choice to cooperate.³¹² Grace then cooperates with free choice so that the consent and the deed are not 'sine nobis,' but grace remains the active source of all good so that they are not 'ex nobis.'³¹³ It is thus for the whole of life, and not just for initial conversion, that the good in people is 'totum in illo' (free choice) and 'totum ex illa' (grace).³¹⁴ Bernard does not support the synergistic concept of cooperating grace opposed by Calvin. His doctrine comes close to the Augustinian concept which Calvin found acceptable³¹⁵ and those who see a sharp contrast between Calvin and Bernard at this point are mistaken.³¹⁶

Calvin's appeal to Bernard in the realm of sin and grace is substantially justified. This is not to suggest that their doctrines are identical. Even Calvin did not claim that much.³¹⁷ But he and Bernard both belong to the broad Augustinian tradition of *sola gratia* and as such they stand together in opposition to the semi-Pelagianism and semi-Augustinianism of Calvin's opponents.

JUSTIFICATION

While Calvin made bold claims to the support of Augustine and others for his doctrines of predestination and the eucharist,³¹⁸ he was more cautious when it came to justification by faith. It is significant that the density of patristic citations drops considerably when one turns to the chapters of the *Institutio* devoted to this topic.³¹⁹ Calvin admitted that even Augustine was less than satisfactory when it came to justification³²⁰ and he did not lightly admit

³¹² *Gm* 14:47.

³¹³ *Gm* 14:46 (BO 3:199).

³¹⁴ *Gm* 14:47 (BO 3:200). Cf. *Gm* 1:1: the debate began precisely because Bernard attributed *all* to grace and not just initial 'prevention.'

³¹⁵ Calvin rejected the idea that people can do good independently of grace or that they need to supplement grace, but he did accept that, moved by grace, they willingly obey righteousness, do good and are rewarded (Lane, 'Did Calvin Believe in Freewill?', 85). This is close to Bernard's conception of 'cooperation with grace.'

³¹⁶ Bavaud, 'Les rapports,' 333f., and McGinn, *Introduction*, 49, both see a stark contrast here. They both assume that verbal differences imply a difference in substance and neither acknowledges that for Calvin there is a sound understanding of cooperation with grace.

³¹⁷ C.V.

³¹⁸ *Inst.* 3:22:8 (predestination); *Inst.* 4:17:28 (eucharist). Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals,' 171.

³¹⁹ Mooi, KDE, 388f., gives an average of 5 citations per chapter for *Inst.* 3:11–19. While this is much higher than for the immediately preceding chapters (on the Christian life) it is low for polemical chapters. For more on the density of patristic citations, cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Use of the Fathers and the Medievals,' 159f.

³²⁰ *Inst.* 3:11:15.

to differing from Augustine.³²¹ For the question of works and merit Bernard was his favourite author after Augustine, Ambrose, and Chrysostom following at a distance.

Merit

Calvin turned to Bernard for support for his opposition to the concept of merit. He regarded the term *meritum* as dangerous and unfortunate rather than totally false. Thus he was able to excuse the early fathers for using the term while arguing that it later led to heresy in that God's grace was obscured and people became filled with pride.³²² Bernard is one of those who used the term in a sound sense. He spoke of merit but affirmed that 'sufficit ad meritum, scire quod non sufficientia merita'.³²³ Christians are not to presume upon their merits³²⁴ and should beware of boasting of them 'ne si usurpavero quod meum non est, perdam et oblatum'.³²⁵ Before God, on the basis of our own righteousness, in the judgement of God's truth, we are nothing.³²⁶ We should recognize that it is God's compassion that is our merit and that our whole merit is to place our whole hope in him who makes the whole person safe.³²⁷ Therefore, 'de meritis quid sollicita sit ecclesia?'³²⁸

Calvin did not suggest that Bernard totally rejected the concept of merit. He quoted him to the effect that 'carere meritis satis ad iudicium est'.³²⁹ Merit should not lead us to presume but it does deserve a reward.³³⁰ It is not merit that Bernard opposed but presumption upon merits and boasting about them. We are to be careful to have merits, but we should acknowledge them as God's gifts.³³¹ We can have no good work unless God gives it and we cannot merit eternal life by our works unless it is freely given to us.³³² It is God

³²¹ Cf. McGinn, *Introduction*: 'A medieval theologian might venture to reinterpret Augustine; he would rarely openly disagree with him' (p. 10).

³²² *Inst.* 3:15:2.

³²³ C.XIIc, cf. c.XXXVIb and c. C.XIIc is drawn from earlier in SC 68:6 than c.XIIa and b, as Calvin acknowledges, and the change of order slightly heightens the anti-merit emphasis. In c.XXXVIb and c Calvin keeps to Bernard's order.

³²⁴ Cc.XIIb; XXXVIc; XXXVII. In c.XXXVII Calvin correctly paraphrases Bernard but claims, without any basis, that Bernard was addressing 'superbos, qui meritis suis vel minimum arrogant'.

³²⁵ C.XXXVIa.

³²⁶ C.IXa.

³²⁷ C.Xc, cf. cc.Xb; XVII.

³²⁸ C.XXXVIb, cf. c.XIIc.

³²⁹ C.XXXVIb.

³³⁰ C.XXXVIc.

³³¹ C.XIIb.

³³² C.XXXIIIa. For other use of this sermon (*Ann* 1) in the sixteenth century, cf. F. Posset, '*Bernardus Redivivus*: The *Wirkungsgeschichte* of a Medieval Sermon in the Reformation of the Six-

who gives merits and it is God who rewards them.³³³ But while Calvin did not deny that Bernard believed in merit, he claimed that 'merita libere usurpat pro bonis operibus'.³³⁴ This should not be taken to mean that Calvin interpreted the Bernardine concept as simply meaning 'good works' and no more. He had earlier stated that merit was an unfortunate term to describe the *value* of good works³³⁵ and this is probably what he meant when he said that Bernard used the term merit for good works.³³⁶ He also claimed that Bernard's aim in speaking of merits was 'terrere hypocritas, qui peccandi licentia contra Dei gratiam protervunt'.³³⁷ This is only one aspect of Bernard's concept of merit.

One of Calvin's citations has led to a prolonged controversy. Calvin quoted Bernard's words that 'ad/in nihilum redactus est homo: nihil est homo'.³³⁸ Brunner maintained that Calvin had given Bernard's words a new and different meaning: Bernard had written about the *annihilatio mystica* while Calvin had misapplied it to the humiliation of all humanity.³³⁹ Kolffhaus later accepted Brunner's case and added to it, drawing out further differences between Bernard's mysticism and Calvin's theology.³⁴⁰

Both of these are chided for their interpretation by Izaäk Boot.³⁴¹ He spoils his case by starting with the assumption that it was unlikely for an exegete of Calvin's integrity, who knew Bernard's works so well, to misinterpret him. Such an *a priori* predisposition in favour of Calvin serves only to weaken the force of his subsequent argument, which is sound. He argues that Bernard, in this context, was considering humanity as such, not just when in mystical contemplation. Calvin and Bernard were both referring simply to fallen humanity.³⁴² Calvin never cited any passage where Bernard taught an *annihili-*

teenth Century,' *Cistercian Studies* 22 (1987): 239–249. For Luther's use, cf. Bell, 'Testimonium Spiritus Sancti'; idem, *Divus Bernhardus*, 31–33, 36f., 66f., 91–108, 133f.; Posset, 'Divus Bernhardus', 519–523. For the suggestion that this sermon may have provided the script for a popular medieval mystery play, cf. M. K. Hufgard, 'St. Bernard of Clairvaux: From Scripture to Script,' *Cistercian Studies* 25 (1990): 277–286.

³³³ C.XXXIIIb.

³³⁴ C.XXXVIc.

³³⁵ *Inst.* 3:15:2 (1539).

³³⁶ Against, J. Raitt, 'Calvin's Use,' 115, and D. Fischer, *La Polémique anti-Romaine dans l'Institution de la Religion Chrétienne de Jean Calvin* (thesis, Strasbourg University, 1975), 247f.

³³⁷ C.XXXVIc.

³³⁸ *Ded* 5:3 (BO 5:390) ('ad'), cited in c.IXa ('in').

³³⁹ P. Brunner, *Vom Glauben bei Calvin* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1925), 18f.

³⁴⁰ W. Kolffhaus, *Christusgemeinschaft bei Johannes Calvin* (Neukirchen: Kr Moers, 1939), 132–135. The further differences relate to Calvin and Bernard in general, not to Calvin's citations of Bernard.

³⁴¹ I. Boot, *De allegorische uitlegging*, 106–108.

³⁴² R. Thomas, 'Le Sermon V de saint Bernard pour la Dédicace,' *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 50

latio mystica. A study of the passage cited by Calvin in the context of the whole sermon supports Boot's interpretation.

All of Calvin's citations on merit are taken from Bernard the preacher. Are we therefore to conclude with Luther that 'Bernhardus in suis praedicationibus excellit omnes alios doctores . . . in disputationibus vero suis plane sui dissimilis est et praedicationibus plane contrarius'?³⁴³ Luther was probably thinking of Bernard's *De gratia et libero arbitrio*. Here there is a difference in tone to the warm piety of the sermons, but no essential conflict in doctrine. The question of merit was partly the occasion of the writing of the treatise: Bernard faced the objection that *sola gratia* leaves no room for merit or reward.³⁴⁴ In the last two chapters the place of merit is discussed in detail. God is due in justice to honour what he has promised in mercy.³⁴⁵ The merit for which reward is promised is the merit of cooperation, of freely consenting to grace.³⁴⁶ Indeed it is the *sole* merit of freewill to consent.³⁴⁷ It is as fellow-workers with God that we obtain merit, which happens when by voluntary consent we are united with his will.³⁴⁸ But this does not mean that we can boast of our merit as if it were our own achievement. Our merits are God's gifts.³⁴⁹ Our merit comes not from ourselves but from the fact that we have been *made* willing workers with God.³⁵⁰ Bernard, like Augustine, held to a doctrine of merit while ultimately referring all to the sole operation of grace. In short, 'quos iustificavit, non quos iustos invenit, hos et magnificavit'.³⁵¹

In this treatise Bernard gives the theoretical basis for his belief in merit. The sermons contain the same positive belief in merit,³⁵² together with the reminder that all our merits are God's gifts,³⁵³ but they also go beyond the treatise. Bernard could speak of meriting eternal life,³⁵⁴ but he insists that

(1988): 239–248, also interprets the sermon this way. He claims that the theme of the sermon is the conviction that 'nous ne sommes rien, vraiment rien du tout, rien que misère, et que, dans le même temps, nous sommes grands, par pure faveur divine' (p. 239). Cf. also F. Callerot, 'Cinquième sermon de saint Bernard sur la Dédicace,' *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 54 (1992): 284–299, with a passing mention of c.IXc on p. 290.

³⁴³ WA Ti 3:295 (#3370b). Cf. #3370a, #5439a, #5439b, #7070. In #5439a Luther qualifies 'disputationibus' with 'ut de libero arbitrio,' probably referring to *Gm* (WA Ti 5:154).

³⁴⁴ *Gm* 1:1.

³⁴⁵ *Gm* 13:43, 14:51.

³⁴⁶ *Gm* 2:5, 14:46f., 49f.

³⁴⁷ *Gm* 14:46.

³⁴⁸ *Gm* 13:45, cf. 14:51.

³⁴⁹ *Gm* 13:42f., 14:48, 50f.

³⁵⁰ *Gm* 1:1, 14:51.

³⁵¹ *Gm* 14:51 (BO 3:203). This is the concluding sentence of the entire work.

³⁵² E.g., SC 81:6; QH 9:4; Div 105:1.

³⁵³ E.g., Ann 1:1, 3.

³⁵⁴ QH 9:4.

'neque enim talia sunt hominum merita, ut propterea vita aeterna debeatur ex iure, aut Deus iniuriam aliquam faceret, nisi eam donaret.'³⁵⁵ Bernard speaks freely of merit but he is most emphatic that this must not be seen as detracting from God's grace:

Non est quo gratia intret, ubi iam meritum occupavit. Ergo plena confessio gratiae, ipsius gratiae plenitudinem signat in anima confitentis. Nam si quid de proprio inest, in quantum est, gratiam cedere illi necesse est. Deest gratiae quidquid meritis deputas. Nolo meritum, quod gratiam excludat.³⁵⁶

Above all, in his sermons Bernard insists that we should not rely upon our own merit.³⁵⁷ The parable of the Pharisee and the publican is repeatedly cited³⁵⁸ and Luke 17.10 is much quoted.³⁵⁹ To trust in one's own merits rather than in God is dangerous and leads to ruin.³⁶⁰ As our merit is insufficient we should put our trust in God's mercy, in the passion of Christ.³⁶¹ 'Unde vera iustitia, nisi de Christi misericordia?'³⁶² God is a God of justice and mercy. If, as the Jews, we approach him on the basis of justice, on the basis of our own righteousness, he will deal with us on the basis of justice and give us our just condemnation. If, on the other hand, we approach him on

³⁵⁵ *Ann* 1:2 (BO 5:14). Cf. *SC* 85:14: 'Humilitas . . . promeretur . . . Cur hoc? Non quia sic meritum, sed quia sic placitum coram Patre Verbi' (BO 2:316). Cf. *Gra* 14:51, where Bernard asks of the crown of righteousness (2 Timothy 4.8), 'an quoniam iuste, iam ex debito requiritur, quodcumque vel gratis promittitur?' (BO 3:202). It is only just that God should grant it, but on the grounds that God owes what he has promised. R. Bellarmine, *De iustificatione*, 5:6 (R. Bellarmine, *Disputationum tomus quartus: De controversiis christianae fidei adversus huius temporis haereticos* [Köln: B. Gualtherus, 1619], cols. 1091f.), interprets *Ann* 1:2 to mean that eternal life is not owed to merits *ex iure absolute*, because merits presuppose God's grace and promise. But given grace and promise, it is owed *ex iure*. Similarly, *ibid.*, 5:18. But shortly before the latter passage he states that good works merit *ex condigno*, not just *ratione pacti* but also *ratione operum* (*ibid.*, 5:17, col. 1121).

³⁵⁶ *SC* 67:10 (BO 2:195). Cf. *Ann* 3:9.

³⁵⁷ A. Zumkeller, 'Das Ungenügen der menschlichen Werke bei den Deutschen Predigern des Spätmittelalters,' *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 81 (1959): 266–268, outlines Bernard's teaching on the insufficiency of human works, citing many of the same passages as Calvin. The remainder of the article traces this theme from Konrad von Brundelsheim in the early fourteenth century to Staupitz.

³⁵⁸ *SC* 3:2, 13:2, 22:8f., 38:4; *Adv* 4:2; *Quad* 4:2, 4; *QH* 9:5; *Ann* 1:1, 5, 3:10; *Div* 25:2. Cf. *Hum* 5:17, 10:28, 35, 14:42; *Apo* 1:1f., 5:10f.; *Csi* 3:2:11; *QH* 8:2; *Pasc* 3:4; *Asc* 2:6, 6:15; *Sent* 3:23.

³⁵⁹ *SC* 9:2, 55:3; *Hum* 5:18; *Pre* 15:43; *Adv* 3:7; *QH* 4:3; *Palm* 3:2; *Pent* 2:6; *Div* 16:4, 17:1, 51:9; *Sent* 3:96f., 3:126:2; *Ep* 142:2, 168:1, 259. Cf. *Apo cap.*; *QH* 6:2; *Ann* 1:13; *Ep* 37 *cap.*

³⁶⁰ *QH* 1:1, 3. Cf. *V Nat* 5:5; *Div* 26:1.

³⁶¹ *SC* 14:1, 22:8, 43:1–4, 50:2, 61:4f., 67:11, 68:6f., 73:4; *V Nat* 2:4, 8; *QH* 9:5f., 16:1; *Ann* 1:1; *VI p P* 2:6.

³⁶² *SC* 22:11 (BO 1:137).

the basis of mercy, conscious of our sin and need of mercy, he will accept us in his mercy.³⁶³ 'Do not bring your servant into judgment, for no-one living is righteous before you' (Psalm 143.2).³⁶⁴ Bernard was resolved not to boast of his works or his merits but to place his hope and trust in God alone. This is to live by faith and to renounce all vain hopes.³⁶⁵ The sermons go beyond the treatise in warning against trust in merit and in pointing to another ground of confidence independent of merit: the mercy of God.³⁶⁶ The teaching of *De gratia et libero arbitrio* is in no way denied, but it receives a major qualification.

Many interpreters of Bernard have seen a stark contrast between Bernard and the Reformers in their attitudes toward merit, as toward freewill.³⁶⁷ But, as with freewill, it should be noted that while Calvin was unhappy with the word *meritum* he did not totally oppose it but acknowledged that it could have a sound sense. The early fathers were unwise to use the term 'quum premium bonorum operum significanter alio nomine citra offendiculum explicari posset.' Calvin opposed the term not because he denied the value of good works but because 'ut est fastuosissimum, nihil quam obscurare Dei gratiam,

³⁶³ SC 14:1. But cf. C. P. Carlson, *Justification in earlier Medieval Theology* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1975), 66f., 72f., on the very limited meaning given to Jewish works-righteousness in the medieval exegetical tradition. Bernard does not seem to have fallen into that trap. Note the use of Romans 9.30 and 10.3 in SC 67:11; *Gm* 14:48.

³⁶⁴ Cited in *Ann* 1:2; *I Nov* 5:9; *OS* 1:11; *Div* 34:3; *Mor* 6:24. Isaiah 64.6 is quoted in the middle three passages and also in *QH* 6:3; *Ded* 5:3; *Div* 7:4, 28:6; *Sent* 3:2.

³⁶⁵ *QH* 9:5f.

³⁶⁶ Bernard's doctrine of merit is expounded by R. Thomas, 'Que pense saint Bernard de ses mérites?', *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 49 (1987): 201-217, which appeared after the writing of this section. It is noteworthy that of the twelve passages from Bernard's sermons expounded by Thomas, four are quoted by Calvin. In the bulk of the article (201-213) he shows that for Bernard two virtues are necessary: humility, which considers one's own merits of no value, and confidence (faith and hope) in the merits of Christ. This closely corresponds to the argument of the present paragraph. He then proceeds to explain this by pointing (213f.) to three different uses of the word merit in Bernard: 1) human merit or our own merit—good deeds done trusting in oneself; 2) meritorious acts—good deeds performed with the right intention. Bernard felt he had too little of this merit; 3) good deeds performed by one who recognizes his lack of merits, puts aside all self-confidence and trusts wholly in God. Such good deeds acquire plenty of merit. There may be some truth in this analysis, but it excludes those passages where Bernard portrays the cure for lack of merits not as the acquisition of more merits (by God's grace) but as God's mercy overlooking our lack of merit. It also fails to account for the idea of disproportion between the merit and the reward (SC 85:14; *Ann* 1:2).

Bellarmino, *De iustificatione*, 5:6 (col. 1092), notes Bernard's statements about the insufficiency of our merits and responds as follows: 'Fortasse etiam sanctus Bernardus, tum ex humilitate, quae propria merita ignorat, tum ex incertitudine propriae gratiae, prudenter non confidebat in meritis suis, sed in sola misericordia Domini. . . . Sed non ideo merita non habebat, quia merita sua non agnoscebat.' Would Bernard have accepted that humility means believing what is not true?

³⁶⁷ E.g., W. van Rijnsoever, 'Bernard en Luther over onze Vrijheid in Christus,' *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum* 23 (1961): 31-33.

et homines prava superbia imbuere potest.³⁶⁸ Writers such as Bernard, who avoided these errors, used the term 'pio sensu'.³⁶⁹ Calvin did not deny that conversion truly changes people,³⁷⁰ that they then proceed to do good works, that these works are truly *their* works and that God will reward them.³⁷¹ It is true that these works, judged by the standard of strict justice are tainted with sin and worthy of condemnation.³⁷² But to believers God is not a strict judge but a gracious Father who accepts their good works in Christ.³⁷³ God rewards them not according to the standards of strict justice but according to his gracious promises. 'Placent itaque Deo bona opera, nec suis autoribus sunt infructuosa: quin magis amplissima Dei beneficia remunerationis loco referunt: non quia ita merentur, sed quia divina benignitas hoc illis ex seipsa pretium statuit.'³⁷⁴ Calvin opposed the correlation of merit and reward, on the following ground:

Nihil clarius est quam ad sublevandam aliquo solatio carnis nostrae debilitatem, non autem ad inflandos gloria animos, mercedem bonis operibus promitti. Qui ergo meritum operum inde colligit, vel appendit in trutina opus cum mercede, a recto Dei scopo longissime aberrat.³⁷⁵

To invalidate Calvin's appeal to Bernard on the simplistic ground that Bernard accepted and Calvin rejected the concept of merit is naive. Neither Bernard's acceptance nor Calvin's rejection was unqualified. Calvin rejected any 'merit' that obscured God's grace or encouraged human pride.³⁷⁶ Bernard's concern in qualifying the concept of merit was precisely to avoid these two errors. Since Bernard used the term in a way that sought to avoid the very errors that Calvin opposed, Calvin could with justice claim that he had used the term 'pio sensu.' Although it would be wrong to claim total har-

³⁶⁸ *Inst.* 3:15:2 (OS 4:240).

³⁶⁹ C.XIIc.

³⁷⁰ The following charge, which is not uncommon, is grossly unfair to Calvin: 'For the first time, with the Reformation, there appeared this conception of a grace that saves a man without changing him, of a justice that redeems corrupted nature without restoring it, of a Christ who pardons the sinner for self-inflicted wounds but does not heal them' (E. Gilson, *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy* [London: Sheed and Ward, 1936], 421).

³⁷¹ Lane, 'Did Calvin Believe in Freewill?', 81–85; *Inst.* 3:18:1–4.

³⁷² *Inst.* 3:14:9–11, 3:15:3. For Bernard, cf. *SC* 85:14; *Ann* 1:2, discussed earlier in this section.

³⁷³ *Inst.* 3:17:3–10.

³⁷⁴ *Inst.* 3:15:3 (OS 4:242).

³⁷⁵ *Inst.* 3:18:4 (OS 4:274).

³⁷⁶ J. Wawrykow, 'John Calvin and Condign Merit,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992): 73–90, argues that Calvin's doctrine of regeneration has affinities with Thomas's doctrine of condign merit. The same might be said of Calvin's doctrine of reward and the concept of congruent merit. Neither of these should be taken to mean that there is no difference.

mony between them, Calvin could *merito* appeal to Bernard for broad support in this matter.

Trust in Christ Alone

Bernard does not simply warn against trust in our own merits but also points us to the rightful object of our trust: Jesus Christ. Our whole merit is to place our whole hope in Christ.³⁷⁷ The name of Christ is everything to us—our light, food, oil, salt, honey, melody, joy, and medicine.³⁷⁸ The weak find security and rest in the wounds of Christ.³⁷⁹ We have grounds to boast, not in our merit but in the many mercies of the Lord,³⁸⁰ in his promises and his fidelity to them.³⁸¹ Salvation is impossible with humanity, but not with God: this is our whole confidence, our one consolation, the whole ground of our hope.³⁸² Our standing before God is ‘illius dignatione, non nostra dignitate’ and so our glorying is not in ourselves but in the Lord.³⁸³ Our righteousness is based solely on the forgiveness of sins, on pardon through God’s indulgence and mercy, on receiving his righteousness.³⁸⁴

This part of Calvin’s appeal to Bernard is the hardest to assess. On sin, grace, and merit Bernard set out his views in a systematic treatise. He wrote little on predestination but he lived after Augustine and within the Augustinian tradition and it is not hard to discern his basic position. His views on the state of the faithful departed are clearly set out. He wrote a number of treatises on the clergy and the papacy. But he never wrote systematically on the issue of justification by faith. All of Calvin’s Bernardine citations are drawn from sermons and it is not always easy to distinguish between rhetorical exuberance and doctrinal precision.³⁸⁵ The difficulties are compounded by the fact that, up to the time of Bernard, the doctrine of justification had neither been the

³⁷⁷ C.Xc.

³⁷⁸ C.XXXII.

³⁷⁹ Cc.Xa; XXII. In both citations Calvin includes the words ‘et securitas’ which are not found in Bernard’s original and which heighten the impact of the quotation in Calvin’s favour. The fault lies not with Calvin but with the *Opera omnia* of his time, all of which contained the extra words. For more on this theme in Bernard, cf. J. Leclercq, ‘The Image of St. Bernard in the Late Medieval Exempla Literature,’ *Thought* 54 (1979): 300.

³⁸⁰ C.XXXVIb and c.

³⁸¹ C.XIIc.

³⁸² C.XI.

³⁸³ C.IXc.

³⁸⁴ Cc.Xb; XXXIIIa; XXXVa and b; cf. cc.XIIb; XXXIV.

³⁸⁵ This can cause problems even in the treatises: cf. the discussion of *Csi* in note 579 below. J. Leclercq argues that Bernard’s major sermons (as opposed to *Div*) are to be seen as literary compositions only indirectly related to Bernard’s actual preaching (RESB 1:193–212, 2:3–18, 203–60).

subject of controversy nor received systematic formulation.³⁸⁶ It is notoriously difficult to pronounce on someone's views on an issue not yet raised, relying on material from their sermons.

There are a variety of approaches to be considered. The traditional Catholic approach is to deny that Bernard's teaching supports Protestantism and to claim him for pure Catholic orthodoxy. The most important exponent of this position is the great nineteenth-century Bernard scholar Abbé E. Vacandard.³⁸⁷ He denied that Bernard anticipated the Lutheran doctrine of imputation when he wrote of Christ's merits being applied to us.³⁸⁸ A study of Bernard's theology as a whole shows that grace comes from the sacraments, which are 'les canaux réguliers par lesquels la grâce divine découle dans l'âme humaine et la justifie'.³⁸⁹ Others have claimed Bernard for Protestantism. James Buchanan, a nineteenth-century Scottish divine, in his lectures on justification, cited Bernard in support of his claim that 'the Protestant doctrine of Justification by grace through faith, was not a novelty introduced into the Church by Luther and Calvin . . . it was held and taught by some of the greatest writers in every successive age'.³⁹⁰

Luther's attitude to Bernard was qualified. He claimed his support, citing some of the same passages as Calvin.³⁹¹ But he also recognized that Bernard was only partially evangelical. He contrasted the Christ-centred Bernard of piety with the arid Bernard of the disputations:

Quando orat Bernardus, quando apud se in fide, est pulcher doctor.
Omnia schreibt Christo heim, lobt et zulobt den man. Si disputat,

³⁸⁶ Cf. Carlson, *Justification*, 65f., 77, 108.

³⁸⁷ E. Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard, Abbé de Clairvaux*, vol. 2, (Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1895), 74f., following Mabillon (PL 183:163f., n. 18). A similar line is taken by J. Rivière, 'Justification,' DTC 8:2121–2123. Their arguments will be considered further below in this section.

³⁸⁸ For other denials that there is Lutheran imputation in Bernard, cf. M. L. Badiche, *De l'Influence de Saint Bernard sur son Siècle* (Paris: De Soyé and Bouchet, 1859), 92; W. W. Williams in *Select Treatises of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, W. W. Williams and B. R. V. Mills, eds. (Cambridge: CUP, 1926), 6.

³⁸⁹ Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, vol. 2, 75. Cf. Abbé Ratisbonne, *The History of the Life of St. Bernard* (Dublin: J. Duffy, 1859, 2nd edition): 'It would seem that the holy Council of Trent had the work of St. Bernard in view in its exposition of the doctrine of justification; for it reproduces it almost word for word. How admirable is it to see in the Catholic Church this continuity of the same spirit in the perpetuity of the teaching body' (p. 127).

³⁹⁰ J. Buchanan, *The Doctrine of Justification* (London: Banner of Truth, 1961, reprint of 1867 original), 106, 110f. (the quotation is on p. 111). For some earlier Protestant claims to Bernard, cf. Bredero, 'St. Bernard and the Historians,' 36. For a more systematic consideration of Bernard's doctrine of justification, covering much the same ground as here, cf. Lane, 'Bernard of Clairvaux: A Forerunner of John Calvin?'

³⁹¹ Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Sources,' 276.

tunc plane Mahomet, Turca, Iudeus. Ita submergitur in disputatione legali.³⁹²

This interpretation has rightly come under fire from Roman Catholic scholars who point out that the 'errors' that Luther discerns in the treatises are also found in the sermons.³⁹³ But it does not follow that Bernard contains no evangelical elements. Modern Roman Catholic scholarship has freely admitted that there are close parallels between Luther and Bernard at this point, as well as differences.³⁹⁴ The majority of scholars today would agree that there are in Bernard both evangelical and traditional Catholic elements,³⁹⁵ but few would agree with Luther in dividing these between the sermons and the treatises.

The most serious assessment of Bernard's doctrine of justification has come from Albrecht Ritschl in the last century.³⁹⁶ The crucial element of evangelical theology, the distinction between justification and sanctification, is not to be found in the medievals.³⁹⁷ They could use Reformation slogans, such as *sola fide*, but they did not mean by them what the Reformers meant.³⁹⁸ But this does not mean that Reformation theology has no medieval basis. Its basis is to be sought in the *piety* of medievals such as Bernard who, as theologians, were good Catholics. In their 'religious self-estimate' they trusted in God's grace, not in their own works. Such expressions of medieval piety transcend the Catholic doctrines of justification and merit and point to the religious position of the Reformation.³⁹⁹ This turning from merit to grace has a continuous and open history through the Middle Ages. It did not involve a

³⁹² WA 40(3):354 (On Psalm 130.4). Cf. WA Ti #3370a-b, #5439a-b, #7070. Luther also postulated a conversion during Bernard's literary career (cf. note 230, above) but he never explained the contrast between the sound and the unsound Bernard in these terms.

³⁹³ Mousnier, 'Saint Bernard et Luther,' 160-165; McGinn, *Introduction*, 47f.

³⁹⁴ Mousnier, 'Saint Bernard et Luther,' 157-160; Volz, 'Martin Luther's Attitude,' 203f. 'The heart of Luther's theology was his emphasis on justification by grace through faith because of Christ. It is here that Luther's pietism and Bernard's mysticism came closest to agreement. Bernard's passages on salvation correspond very closely to Luther's, and in both cases salvation was a gift of grace centering on Christ's passion' (ibid., 203).

³⁹⁵ Cf. A. W. Dieckhoff, *Justin, Augustin, Bernhard und Luther* (Leipzig: Neumann, 1882), 57-65, for an older Protestant exposition of this position.

³⁹⁶ Carlson, *Justification*, 97-101, assesses Bernard's doctrine of justification, but with grave shortcomings: he does little more than quote at length passages cited by Ritschl; he twice (pp. 96, 101) cites pseudo-Bernard, *Tractatus de interiori domo* with no indication that it is not Bernard's; he applies Melancthon's statement that a passage of Bernard (*Ann* 1) influenced Luther to the wrong passage (*SC* 22) (p. 99).

³⁹⁷ A. Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, vol. 1 (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1903, 4th edition), 105f.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 106f.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 107.

rejection of the Catholic view of justification but it *practically* denied the worth of theoretically acknowledged merits. The Reformers simply took to its logical conclusion a doctrine of grace that was practically accepted throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁰⁰

Bernard fits into this interpretation of the Middle Ages, according to Ritschl. Justification can be taken forensically when Bernard is citing Paul, but normally it implies a real change in the person.⁴⁰¹ His theology is orthodox, especially in his *De gratia et libero arbitrio*. But his religious intuition triumphs over the limits of Catholic theology. The same contrast between a theory of merits and practical trust in God alone is also found in Bernard's sermons.⁴⁰² This religious attitude points to Luther.⁴⁰³

Ritschl sees passages in Bernard that clearly teach justification by faith and admits that Luther himself could not have expressed it better. But the difference between them is that Bernard held it together with the Roman Catholic doctrine whereas Luther saw its consequences. Here is the crucial difference between Bernard and Luther.⁴⁰⁴ Thus Bernard was both an orthodox Roman Catholic and a Lutheran before Luther.⁴⁰⁵

Ritschl's approach has much to commend it but it is not without its difficulties. The religious self-estimate that he sees as pointing to the Reformation is found in no less a Catholic document than the Council of Trent's *Decretum de iustificatione*: 'Absit tamen, ut christianus homo in se ipso vel confidat vel gloriatur et non in Domino, cuius tanta est erga omnes homines bonitas, ut eorum velit esse merita, quae sunt ipsius dona.'⁴⁰⁶ Clearly, if this attitude is to be found (albeit in a muted form) in a formal document of anti-Protestant Roman Catholic theology, one must be cautious in interpreting it as fundamentally Protestant.

Bernard qualifies the concept of merit in two distinct ways and Ritschl fails

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 109.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 105f.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 109–112. Cf. idem, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 1 (Bonn: A. Marcus, 1880), 46–48, where the qualification is added that the interpretation of Bernard's sermons on the Song of Solomon must allow for the fact that they were addressed solely to monks. E.T. in A. Ritschl, *Three Essays* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 91–94.

⁴⁰³ Idem, *Die christliche Lehre*, vol. 1, 112–115.

⁴⁰⁴ Idem, 'Lesefrüchte,' 320f., w.r.t. SC 22. Cf. idem, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 1, 37 (E.T. in *Three Essays*, 84); idem, *Die christliche Lehre*, vol. 1, 114f.

⁴⁰⁵ Idem, 'Lesefrüchte,' 334.

⁴⁰⁶ Cap.16 (N. P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2 [London: Sheed and Ward; Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1990], 678). A more striking example is found in Bellarmine, *De iustificatione*, 5:7 (col. 1095). Having argued for the reality and value of human merits, he proceeds to recommend that: 'propter incertitudinem propriae iustitiae, et periculum inanis gloriae tutissimum est, fiduciam totam in sola Dei misericordia, et benignitate reponere.'

to distinguish between them clearly. All is to be attributed to grace in that our merits are God's gifts and without his grace we would have achieved nothing. This Bernard clearly teaches in his *De gratia et libero arbitrio*. There is not a trace of contradiction here between grace and merit; Ritschl is wrong to suggest that Bernard's affirmation of our total dependence upon God in any way undermines his belief in merit.⁴⁰⁷ It is in this sense that Trent qualifies merit, in the passage quoted above. Second, Bernard qualifies merit by insisting that we should not rely upon it and that we are dependent upon God's mercy. Here a different point is being made. It is not that all our merit is God's gift (the first point) but that our merit is imperfect and insufficient. We should not boast of our merits because they are God's gifts rather than our independent achievement (the first point) and also because they are inadequate (the second point). If there is any tension between Bernard and orthodox Roman Catholicism it comes at the second point, not the first. Bernard himself was aware that he was qualifying the concept of merit in these two distinct ways.⁴⁰⁸

As Bernard lived before the doctrine of justification had become controversial it is not surprising that there is imprecision in his use of the term. The word sometimes has a forensic meaning⁴⁰⁹ while it can also refer to a real change in the person.⁴¹⁰ Again, Ritschl correctly observed that there is no consistent distinction between justification and sanctification in Bernard's writings. But this does not mean that Bernard *never* taught a justification clearly distinguished from sanctification (with or without using those precise words). The distinction is effectively found in his fifth Dedication sermon where he contrasts at length our true state with God's estimate of us.⁴¹¹ Bernard differs from Calvin not in that he never distinguishes justification from sanctification but in that he does not do so *consistently*, either in terminology or in substance.

How is a person justified? Bernard can teach justification *sola fide*: 'Quamobrem quisquis pro peccatis compunctus esurit et sitit iustitiam, credat in te qui iustificas impium, et solam iustificatus per fidem, pacem habebit ad

⁴⁰⁷ Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre*, vol. 1, 108f., w.r.t. *Gm* 14.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ann* 1:2, where Bernard observes that eternal life is not owed to us 'ex iure' because all our merits are God's gifts (first point) and also because our merits are not to be compared to so great a glory (second point) (*BO* 5:14).

⁴⁰⁹ *SC* 22:8, 83:4; *IV HM* 7; *Abael* 8:20. The *Cistercian Fathers Series* translation of *SC* is very free in its rendering of *iustificatio* and its cognates and is most unreliable for a study of this doctrine.

⁴¹⁰ *SC* 67:10 (probably), 76:3.

⁴¹¹ *Ded* 5:2-8, discussed in chapter 3, pp. 48-50. Tamburello, *Union with Christ*, 47f., points to Bernard's talk of two graces (*SC* 3:3), but these graces are two aspects of sanctification, *not* justification and sanctification.

Deum.⁴¹² 'Qui vero, inquit, non crediderit, condemnabitur, nimirum innuens solam interdum fidem sufficere ad salutem, et sine ipsa sufficere nihil.'⁴¹³ But these quotations should not be taken out of context. Those justified by faith alone are immediately reminded that without holiness no one shall see the Lord and are warned to be holy as God is holy.⁴¹⁴ Shortly after, Bernard argues at length that 'nec fides sine operibus, nec opera sine fide sufficiunt ad animi rectitudinem.'⁴¹⁵ While faith alone suffices for salvation, in the context of the second quotation this means faith without baptism, where death or some other obstacle intervenes. Cardinal Bellarmine rightly stated that the faith that justifies without baptism 'numquam sine voto Baptismi, et poenitentia, ac dilectione iustificat.'⁴¹⁶ Bernard himself affirmed 'sola fide hominem posse salvari, cum desiderio percipiendi sacramentum.'⁴¹⁷ Again, 'sic sola fides et mentis ad Deum conversio, sine effusione sanguinis et sine perfusione aquae, salutem sine dubio operatur volenti, sed non valenti, prohibente articulo, baptizari.'⁴¹⁸ While justification is by faith, it also requires effort, including abstention from wicked works, carnal desires, and the cares of the world, together with almsgiving, fasting, and prayer.⁴¹⁹

'Sunt autem alii, qui sperant quidem in Domino, sed frustra, quia sic de misericordia eius sibi ipsis blandiuntur, ut a peccatis suis non emendentur. Vana est omnino spes ista, et haec confundit, eo quod caritas desit.'⁴²⁰ As James stated, faith without works is dead. It is defective because it lacks love.⁴²¹ That faith is dead 'quae sine operibus est, id est quae non operatur ex dilectione, quasi non habens animam, ipsam dilectionem qua vegetetur et moveatur ad opera.'⁴²² 'Vides quod non faciat hominem rectum fides enim recta, quae non operatur ex dilectione.'⁴²³ It is true that the just live by faith, but by a faith that works by love.⁴²⁴ Bellarmine rightly maintained that

⁴¹² SC 22:8 (BO 1:134).

⁴¹³ *Bapt* 2:8 (BO 7:190). This and the previous quotation are cited by Bellarmine, *De iustificatione*, 1:25.

⁴¹⁴ SC 22:8, citing Heb. 12:14; Lev. 19:2. Cf. *Div* 28:3.

⁴¹⁵ SC 24:8 (BO 1:162), cited by Bellarmine, *De iustificatione*, 1:25. Cf. SC 51:2.

⁴¹⁶ Bellarmine, *De iustificatione*, 1:25 (col. 890).

⁴¹⁷ *Bapt* 2:8 (BO 7:190).

⁴¹⁸ *Bapt* 2:8 (BO 7:191).

⁴¹⁹ *Div* 105:1f.

⁴²⁰ *QH* 1:2 (BO 4:386).

⁴²¹ *QH* 1:2; *Mor* 4:14. Bernard refers to dead faith in the words of James 2:17, 20, 26 in SC 24:7f., 30:6, 33:3, 48:7, 51:2; *Dil* 11:32; *V Nat* 3:3; *Pur* 2:2; *Pasc* 2:1; *O Pasc* 1.3; *Div* 45:5, 58:1, 111:1; *Mor* 4:14.

⁴²² *Mor* 4:14 (BO 7:111).

⁴²³ SC 24:8 (BO 1:162).

⁴²⁴ *Ep* 107:4. Cf. *Ep* 107:9.

Bernard's *sola fide* refers to 'fide viva, et cum caritate conjuncta'.⁴²⁵ It should, however, also be noted that the faith that does not suffice is not full Pauline faith but faith in the Jacoban sense of thinking 'recte in omnibus' and being 'fide catholicum,' i.e., faith as correct belief.⁴²⁶ The Reformers never imagined that *this* faith alone could justify.⁴²⁷

It is not only faith that justifies. 'Timore vocamur, amore iustificamur'.⁴²⁸ Love comes from faith and is the source of our justification.⁴²⁹ Love 'expiat . . . potenter'.⁴³⁰ Furthermore, 'humilitas iustificat nos'.⁴³¹ Humility merits virtues⁴³² and, together with trust, is exceedingly necessary for salvation.⁴³³ Humility leads to confession of sin which is necessary if we are to know God's mercy.⁴³⁴ Confession of sins is necessary for forgiveness of sins⁴³⁵ and leads to justification.⁴³⁶ 'In quo ego me condemno, tu iustificeris'.⁴³⁷ But justification requires the right type of confession: 'Sit autem et fidelis confessio, ut confitearis in spe, de indulgentia penitus non diffidens, ne tuo te ore non tam iustifices quam condemnes'.⁴³⁸

Bernard at least sometimes linked justification with sacramental confession and penance.⁴³⁹ In this he was following the tradition of the early Middle Ages.⁴⁴⁰ Also medieval is his occasional practice of describing faith as meritorious: 'magna siquidem fides magna meretur'.⁴⁴¹ Faith reaps the harvest of experience 'merito'.⁴⁴² Faith is meritorious because the object of faith cannot be

⁴²⁵ Bellarmine, *De iustificatione*, 1:25 (col. 890). He earlier states that while faith justifies, so do fear, hope, love, etc. When Bernard states that faith justifies he means, says Bellarmine, that faith is the *beginning* of *iustitia* and salvation (ibid., 1:13).

⁴²⁶ SC 24:7 (BO 1:159).

⁴²⁷ Cf., e.g., *Inst.* 3:2:8–10. Two of the three differences that Mabillon sees between Bernard and the Reformers (PL 183.163f., n. 18) are unreal: he accuses Calvin of teaching that the justified cannot 'a charitate excedere' and opposes those who teach justification 'per meram non imputationem peccatorum,' not realizing that for Calvin, God regenerates all whom he justifies.

⁴²⁸ *Ep* 107:4 (BO 7:270); cf. *Ep* 107:5.

⁴²⁹ *Ep* 107:5: 'ex quo et nostra fit iustificatio' (BO 7:271).

⁴³⁰ SC 69:6 (BO 2:205).

⁴³¹ SC 34:3 (BO 1:247).

⁴³² *Mor* 5:17. Cf. SC 85:14.

⁴³³ *Ded* 5:2.

⁴³⁴ *Ann* 1:5.

⁴³⁵ SC 16:11, 22:9.

⁴³⁶ SC 22:9, 56:7.

⁴³⁷ *Div* 3:6 (BO 6/1:91).

⁴³⁸ SC 16:12 (BO 1:96).

⁴³⁹ SC 71:11; *Tpl* 12:30, in addition to the passages cited in the previous three footnotes.

⁴⁴⁰ Carlson, *Justification*, 8f., 77, 108, 127f., 138f.

⁴⁴¹ SC 32:8 (BO 1:231).

⁴⁴² SC 84:7 (BO 2:306).

seen.⁴⁴³ But the idea of meritorious faith can be given a strong evangelical twist, as in the passage quoted by Calvin: 'Hoc enim totum hominis meritum, si totam spem suam ponat in eo, qui totum hominem salvum facit.'⁴⁴⁴

While he echoes traditional medieval concepts, there is much in Bernard that transcends medieval Catholicism. Justification is sometimes linked with penance, but it is more often related to a personal trust in Christ. Faith is occasionally seen as meritorious, but it is more often seen as placing one's trust in Christ rather than in one's own merit.⁴⁴⁵ Bernard fails to draw a clear distinction between justification and sanctification, but that does not mean that he never speaks of justification in the Reformation sense.

In many ways Bernard comes closest to Calvin's doctrine of justification not when he actually uses the word but when he speaks of imputation. He repeatedly refers to the non-imputation of sins by God, citing Psalm 32.2.⁴⁴⁶ He also links this with 1 John 5.18:⁴⁴⁷ whoever is born of God does not sin because he is preserved by a celestial birth, which is predestination. The result is that his sins are not imputed to him.⁴⁴⁸ When God does not impute sin it is as if it never existed.⁴⁴⁹ While God's righteousness is inability to sin, human righteousness is the forgiveness of sins. Our sins are blotted out by the love of the Father.⁴⁵⁰ But while this element of Bernard's teaching is often seen as his closest approximation to Protestantism,⁴⁵¹ it does not significantly transcend the Catholic tradition. The medieval tradition, following Augustine, never questioned the non-imputation or forgiveness of sins. Such teaching can take a profoundly unevangelical form, as occurs in Bernard him-

⁴⁴³ SC 76:2.

⁴⁴⁴ QH 15:5 (BO 4:479). Cf. QH 15:4: 'Cum hoc timore spes habet meritum' (BO 4:479).

⁴⁴⁵ This is shown clearly by Thomas, 'Que pense saint Bernard,' 201, 206 and passim.

⁴⁴⁶ SC 22:9, 23:15, 71:3; *Gra* 9:29; *Tpl* 11:21; *Ann* 1:1, 4; *Div* 33:4, 40:4; *Sent* 3:2; *Ep* 8:2.

⁴⁴⁷ In the various editions this is often mistakenly identified as 1 John 3.9.

⁴⁴⁸ SC 23:15; *Gra* 9:29; *Tpl* 11:24. Cf. *Sept* 1:1 where there is the non-imputation of sins, but without the citation of Psalm 32.2. Cf. *Div* 4:5 for a different application: 1 John 5.18 is interpreted to mean that as a result of predestination we do not *persevere* in sin. Williams, in Bernard, *Select Treatises*, 6, claims that the 'vidi haec' of SC 23:15 (BO 1:149) refers to the Christian's fruitfulness in good works while it actually refers to the non-imputation of sin. In *Sent* 3:110 Bernard states that sin is not imputed where there is no law (prior to Moses) – cf. Romans 5.13.

⁴⁴⁹ SC 23:15; *Ann* 1:1; *Div* 40:4. Bellarmine, *De iustificatione*, 3:15 (col. 1002), responds thus to Bernard's use of 1 John 3 in the first two of these passages: 'Haec quoque expositio veram doctrinam continet: sed non explicat proprie sensum Apostoli, et credibile est, sanctum Bernardum, more suo uti voluisse scripturae verbis ad sententiam quamdam veram explicandam, quamvis non eo loco intentam ab eo, qui verba illa conscripserat.' What Bellarmine says is doubtless true of Bernard's use of 1 John 3, as of much of his use of Scripture. It does not, however, resolve the question of Bernard's own teaching on this matter.

⁴⁵⁰ SC 23:15.

⁴⁵¹ E.g., by Mousnier, 'Saint Bernard et Luther,' 158.

self: sin is not imputed to the elect 'quod vel punitur condigna paenitentia, vel in caritate absconditur.'⁴⁵²

The distinguishing mark of the Reformation doctrine is not the non-imputation of sin, which was a commonplace in the Catholic tradition, but the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Bernard referred to a reckoning to us of Christ's righteousness, though usually without the actual word 'impute.' There is no true *iustitia* save from Christ's mercy.⁴⁵³ Our wisdom, righteousness, and merits may fail, but his passion is our refuge and remedy and comes to our help.⁴⁵⁴ Christ is made our righteousness. His righteousness suffices for me as well as for him.⁴⁵⁵ Regenerate infants do not lack merits but have the merits of Christ.⁴⁵⁶ 'Adae peccatum imputabitur mihi, et Christi iustitia non pertinebit ad me.'⁴⁵⁷ Elsewhere this is stated more fully. Through Adam's sin humanity has lost its righteousness and become enslaved to sin. How can this *iustitia* be regained? 'Assignata est ei proinde aliena, qui caruit sua.' Christ died for us, 'ut videlicet satisfactio unius omnibus imputetur.'⁴⁵⁸ This is not unjust:

Cur non aliunde iustitia, cum aliunde reatus? Alius qui peccatorem constituit; alius qui iustificat a peccato: alter in semine, alter in sanguine. An peccatum in semine peccatoris, et non iustitia in Christi sanguine? . . . Si mea traducta culpa, cur non et mea indulta iustitia?⁴⁵⁹

'Porro mors in Christi morte fugatur et Christi nobis iustitia imputatur.'⁴⁶⁰ Bernard transcends the mere non-imputation of sin and teaches a positive imputation to us of Christ's righteousness.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵² *Gm* 9:29 (BO 3:186). This passage is held to prove that Bernard did not believe in Lutheran imputation by Badiche, *Influence*, 92, and by Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, vol. 2, 74f. and 'Bernard (Saint), abbé de Clairvaux,' DTC 2:777f. The unevangelical sense of non-imputation in one passage in the early Bernard cannot be made to determine its meaning in all his subsequent uses of the term.

⁴⁵³ *SC* 22:11.

⁴⁵⁴ *SC* 22:8.

⁴⁵⁵ *SC* 61:5. Cf. *SC* 22:9: 'sic tactus a peccatrice iustus iustitiam impertit, non perdit' (BO 1:135).

⁴⁵⁶ *SC* 68:6.

⁴⁵⁷ *Tpl* 11:23 (BO 3:233).

⁴⁵⁸ *Abael* 6:15 (BO 8:29). Cf. *p Epi* 1:3.

⁴⁵⁹ *Abael* 6:16 (BO 8:30f.).

⁴⁶⁰ *Tpl* 11:22 (BO 3:232).

⁴⁶¹ Cf. also *Ded* 5:2-8 where Bernard contrasts our state in truth/reality with God's estimate of us. At this point he approaches the Lutheran *simul iustus et peccator*. Vacandard, 'Bernard (Saint),' DTC 2:777f., rejects the Protestant interpretation of Bernard, citing *Gm* 9:29; *Div* 4:5, which have just been discussed. He claims of the evangelical elements noted by Ritschl that 'ce n'est là qu'une apparence trompeuse, qui provient des textes mêmes ou plutôt de certaines expressions bibliques que Bernard se proposait d'expliquer.' The same argument is used by Rivière,

Bernard's doctrine of justification is closely related to his view of the cross. We cannot be saved without the blood of Christ.⁴⁶² His passion is our ultimate refuge which is stronger than all sin,⁴⁶³ so if we lack merits we can always rest on the sufferings of Christ.⁴⁶⁴ Christ took our punishment upon himself and provided a remedy for both physical and spiritual death.⁴⁶⁵ As a result of his death, our debt of death is paid.⁴⁶⁶ Just as the sin of Adam caused the death of all, so also the justice of Christ restores all to life. His justice suffices to buy life and justice for all.⁴⁶⁷ 'Ut videlicet satisfactio unius omnibus imputetur, sicut omnium peccata unus ille portavit.'⁴⁶⁸ Forgiveness of sins comes to us through Christ's passion,⁴⁶⁹ as do righteousness and justification.⁴⁷⁰ In the *Vita prima Bernardi* an interesting incident is recorded. Bernard was at death's door and the devil was accusing him of his sins. Bernard's reply is significant: 'Fateor, non sum dignus ego, nec propriis possum meritis regnum obtinere coelorum. Caeterum duplici jure illud obtinens Dominus meus, haereditate scilicet Patris, et merito passionis, altero ipse contentus, alterum mihi donat, ex cujus dono jure illud mihi vindicans, non confundor.'⁴⁷¹

Was Calvin then justified in his appeal to Bernard? It is clear that there is

'Justification,' DTC 8:2122. But this appears to concede that Protestantism is biblical and to imply that the fathers lose their authority when they become biblical! It is true that the word 'impute' in Bernard is often part of a biblical quotation or allusion, as is so much of his terminology, but the important question is how he used the term and what meaning he gave to it. Vacandard also imagines that he has differentiated Bernard from Protestantism when he states that 'il ne conçoit pas la justification du pécheur sans une qualité intérieure que donne la grâce sanctifiante.' Bellarmine, *De iustificatione*, 2:13 (cols. 935f.), also rejects the idea that Bernard teaches the imputation of Christ's righteousness in SC 22 and 23, *Abael* 6:16. He claims that Bernard in *Abael* is referring to an inherent, not an imputed, righteousness. If Bernard in SC sometimes 'per indulgentiam intelligit solam remissionem, adjungit tunc etiam iustificationem.' We see in SC 22 the two parts of justification: Christ imparts *iustitia* to Mary Magdalen and cleanses her stains. 'Numquam remittitur culpa, quin simul infundatur iustitia.' But Calvin is equally emphatic that there can be (in Protestant terms) no justification without sanctification. Bellarmine's arguments do not remove the idea of imputed righteousness from Bernard.

⁴⁶² SC 22:8.

⁴⁶³ SC 22:8, 61:3f.

⁴⁶⁴ SC 43:1-3.

⁴⁶⁵ *Tpl* 11:20, 27.

⁴⁶⁶ *Tpl* 11:22, 25.

⁴⁶⁷ *Tpl* 11:23-25; *p Epi* 1:3.

⁴⁶⁸ *Abael* 6:15 (BO 8:29f.). Cf. *ibid.*: 'Assignata est ei proinde aliena [iustitia], qui caruit sua' (BO 8:29).

⁴⁶⁹ SC 61:3f.; *Tpl* 11:20, 26.

⁴⁷⁰ SC 2:8, 71:11; *IV HM* 4; *Abael* 7:17, 8:20.

⁴⁷¹ *Vita prima Bernardi* 1:12:57 (PL 185:258). This was cited by Martin Chemnitz in his *Examination of the Council of Trent*, Part 1 (St. Louis: Concordia, 1971), 510f. Chemnitz quotes similar statements from Anselm (511f.).

a body of teaching in Bernard that supports Calvin at many points and to which he could justly appeal. But this teaching coexists with other teachings to which Calvin was clearly opposed. Rather than seek to resolve Bernard's teaching into a consistently Catholic or consistently Protestant—or even consistently Bernardine—structure, it seems better to acknowledge that there are tensions in his thought that reflect the fact that he lived before the doctrine had become controversial.

While Calvin did not quote Bernard blatantly out of context, his use of him does not always reflect the precise context in Bernard's writings. He does quote Bernard accurately but to make a point that was not in Bernard's mind.⁴⁷² More seriously, he quotes from Bernard's *Sermones in Cantica* without acknowledging that they were addressed to monks⁴⁷³ and that they relate to mysticism. This leads him to quote as if a rare mystical experience—an experience that Bernard himself had barely attained—were normal Christian experience:⁴⁷⁴ 'Sed, heu! rara hora et parva mora!'⁴⁷⁵ This experience might 'forte' happen to one of his hearers.⁴⁷⁶ Bernard spoke of remembering Christ's passion, but for others the way is to concentrate on *poenitentia* in the hope of pardon.⁴⁷⁷ Although there are undoubtedly evangelical elements in Bernard's teaching on justification, these must not be isolated from their setting in Bernard's theology in such a way as to suggest that he was consistently evangelical. Calvin was not always innocent of giving such an impression.

Confidence of Salvation

As it is in Christ that our whole trust is placed, it follows that we can be confident of salvation.⁴⁷⁸ Bernard is cited in support of this. There is security and rest for the weak in the wounds of Christ.⁴⁷⁹ The Holy Spirit reveals what lies in God's heart concerning us and persuades our hearts that we are

⁴⁷² C.XXXII is a good illustrative citation but Bernard was not (there) considering the point being made by Calvin: that to waver in the least from Christ is to lose salvation. On c.XXXVII cf. note 324, above.

⁴⁷³ Cf. SC 1:1.

⁴⁷⁴ SC 23:9. Cf. cc.XXXVa; XL.

⁴⁷⁵ SC 23:15 (BO 1:148).

⁴⁷⁶ SC 23:16 (BO 1:149). The 'forte' appears only in some MSS, but it accurately conveys the sense of the passage.

⁴⁷⁷ SC 22:9. Cf. c.XXXVb.

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. A. N. S. Lane, 'Calvin's Doctrine of Assurance,' *Vox Evangelica* 11 (1979): 32–54. There have been a number of recent studies on Calvin's doctrine of assurance, such as J. R. Beeke, *Assurance of Faith: Calvin, English Puritanism and the Dutch Second Reformation* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 47–78; R. C. Zachman, *The Assurance of Faith. Conscience in the Theology of Martin Luther and John Calvin* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1993), 91–248.

⁴⁷⁹ Cc.Xa; XXII. Cf. note 379, above.

sons of God. This he does by calling and justifying freely by faith.⁴⁸⁰ The Holy Spirit persuades us that salvation is treasured up for us.⁴⁸¹ The doctrine of election strengthens this confidence when we consider God's purpose toward those that fear him, his gracious acceptance of them.⁴⁸² It is true that there is a place for grief for sins and for thinking humbly of ourselves, but this should not be perpetual. We should turn to consider the divine mercy and to think of the goodness of the Lord.⁴⁸³ It is true that in ourselves we are nothing. But we must not restrict our self-estimate to this. We must also remember that God has set his heart upon us and that we are exalted by his grace. Thus we should glory not in ourselves but in the Lord.⁴⁸⁴

Bernard's doctrine of assurance is not as clear-cut as Calvin's.⁴⁸⁵ He often spoke of the possibility of attaining to assurance. For the Christian there is the tension between fearing God as judge and hoping in him as saviour. Fear and joy struggle with one another but joy wins.⁴⁸⁶ The Church is consoled by the thought and confidence of being welcomed among the saints.⁴⁸⁷ The mystic who gains access to the bedroom of the bridegroom will be inspired with confidence and joy but, sadly, this vision is not permanent.⁴⁸⁸ The Holy Spirit persuades us that we are sons of God.⁴⁸⁹ Bernard links Paul's reference to the testimony of our conscience (2 Cor. 1.12) with the witness of the Spirit to our sonship (Rom. 8.16).⁴⁹⁰

Sometimes Bernard goes further and argues that assurance is not merely possible but essential. When we confess our sins we should do so in a spirit of faith, i.e. in hope, not doubting that they are pardoned. Otherwise we merely condemn ourselves, as did Cain and Judas in their 'confessions,' and are not justified.⁴⁹¹ It is not enough merely to believe that only God *can* forgive our sins—we must also believe that our sins *are* pardoned by him. It is not sufficient merely to believe that we *can* have merits only through him—the

⁴⁸⁰ Cc. XI; XXI.

⁴⁸¹ C. XXXIIIb. For Luther's use of this passage, cf. E. Kleineidam, 'Ursprung und Gegenstand der Theologie bei Bernhard von Clairvaux und Martin Luther' in *Dienst der Vermittlung*, W. Ernst et al. eds. (Leipzig: St. Benno, 1977), 235–241.

⁴⁸² C. XL.

⁴⁸³ C. XXXIV.

⁴⁸⁴ C. IX.

⁴⁸⁵ P. Delhaye, 'La conscience morale dans la doctrine de S. Bernard,' SBT, 209–211, and Kleineidam, 'Ursprung und Gegenstand,' 222–225, both touch on Bernard's doctrine of assurance.

⁴⁸⁶ *V Nat* 3:5.

⁴⁸⁷ *SC* 62:1.

⁴⁸⁸ *SC* 23:15. Cf. *SC* 69, where there is confidence for those whose love is perfected.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ded* 5:7.

⁴⁹⁰ *Adv* 4:2; *Ann* 1:1; *OS* 2:3.

⁴⁹¹ *SC* 16:12.

Spirit of truth must bear witness that we *do* indeed have them. If we are to attain to eternal life we need the testimony of the Holy Spirit that we *will* attain to it.⁴⁹² We cannot love God unless the Holy Spirit first assures us of God's love for us personally.⁴⁹³

Despite this positive teaching about assurance Bernard flatly states that 'certitudinem utique non habemus.' But while we do not have certitude, 'spei fiducia consolatur nos, ne dubitationis huius anxietate penitus cruciemur.' Certain tokens and proofs of salvation are given.⁴⁹⁴ We can rejoice 'in spe, nondum tamen in securitate.'⁴⁹⁵ Certitude is denied to us, but God does not leave his elect without a testimony to their predestination.⁴⁹⁶ Bernard could see signs of the vocation and justification of his monks, but he had no certain knowledge of their final salvation.⁴⁹⁷

How are these two aspects to be related to one another? One factor in Bernard's theology strongly militates against assurance. Final salvation depends upon perseverance to the end.⁴⁹⁸ This cannot be deduced from present salvation. The 'feigned faith' warned against in 1 Timothy 1.5 is the faith of those who have charity and are saved for a time but do not persevere. Salvation requires not just a beginning but perseverance to the end. To have charity is no guarantee that one will continue in charity.⁴⁹⁹ While perseverance is required, ultimately it lies in the hands of God since it is only the elect who persevere.⁵⁰⁰

Thus, for Bernard, confidence of present forgiveness of sins does not imply any certitude regarding one's final destiny. The assurance of the forgiveness of sins can and must coexist with uncertainty of final salvation. 'Quales sumus, nosse possumus vel ex parte, quales autem futuri simus, id nosse penitus nobis impossibile est.'⁵⁰¹ But Bernard also speaks of assurance regarding *final* salvation.⁵⁰² The justified soul does not doubt that she is also to be glorified.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹² *Ann* 1:3. For more on this passage, cf. note 514, below.

⁴⁹³ *Ep* 107:9.

⁴⁹⁴ *Sept* 1:1 (BO 4:345).

⁴⁹⁵ *Ep* 107:10 (BO 7:274).

⁴⁹⁶ *O Pasc* 2:3.

⁴⁹⁷ *Asc* 2:5.

⁴⁹⁸ E.g., *SC* 28:6, 46:8; *Csi* 5:14:31; *Mor* 4:15. All of these cite Matt. 10.22.

⁴⁹⁹ *Mor* 4:14–16.

⁵⁰⁰ Perseverance is a gift of God (*Ep* 90:2) and, as with the entire Christian life, is all of grace (*Gm* 14:46f.). It is associated with predestination in *OS* 5:2. Cf. chapter 3, pp. 71–73, on predestination.

⁵⁰¹ *Sept* 1:1 (BO 4:345).

⁵⁰² E.g., *Ann* 1:3, cited three paragraphs above.

⁵⁰³ *Ep* 107:5, cf. 107:7.

In order that we should be able to love God it is necessary that the Holy Spirit first reveal to us God's eternal design for our *future* salvation.⁵⁰⁴ Nevertheless, Bernard states shortly afterwards that while justified believers begin to experience something of their future blessedness, they are to rejoice in hope, not yet in security.⁵⁰⁵ The earlier statements should not be taken so literally as to conflict with the later, which represents Bernard's more consistent position.

Calvin criticized the schoolmen for using Ecclesiastes 9.1 ('Nemo scit utrum odio dignus sit, an amore') to undermine assurance.⁵⁰⁶ Bernard quoted this passage in a variety of ways. He used it to argue that there is no certainty of election, although signs and tokens of it are given to us.⁵⁰⁷ Elsewhere the passage is more drastically qualified. Faith comes to our rescue and the Holy Spirit reveals to us what is hidden in the heart of the Father.⁵⁰⁸ While in the anteroom to glory, where God is contemplated as judge, Ecclesiastes 9.1 may strike horror in the heart; once the mystic reaches the bedroom, where God is seen as bridegroom, this horror is replaced by confidence and joy.⁵⁰⁹ Before conversion sinners do not know if they are worthy of hate or love, but when the sun of salvation shines upon them they see themselves no longer as children of wrath but as children of grace.⁵¹⁰ Bernard seems to qualify the passage when assurance of present salvation is in mind and to accept its force when assurance of predestination and final salvation is in mind.⁵¹¹

Bernard seems consistently to teach the possibility—if not the necessity—of assurance of present forgiveness of sins.⁵¹² This evidence of God's calling and justification is the ground for hope regarding the future, but not for certainty since present justification is no certain proof of election and final salvation. These elements are brought together in the following passage:

Quis potest dicere: 'Ego de electis sum, ego de praedestinitis ad vitam, ego de numero filiorum'? Quis, inquam, dicere potest, reclamante ni-

⁵⁰⁴ *Ep* 107:9.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ep* 107:10.

⁵⁰⁶ *Inst.* 3:2:38 (*OS* 4:48).

⁵⁰⁷ *Sept* 1:1; *O Pasc* 2:3; *Asc* 2:5. For a more ethical use of Eccl. 9.1, cf. *SC* 37:6, where uncertainty as to our true standing is used to encourage us to play safe and take the lowest seat (*Luke* 14.10).

⁵⁰⁸ *Ded* 5:7.

⁵⁰⁹ *SC* 23:12f., 15.

⁵¹⁰ *Ep* 107:6.

⁵¹¹ *OS* 5:2. Cf. *Div* 24:4, where there is some qualification in the context of final salvation.

⁵¹² Bellarmine, *De iustificatione*, 3:4 (col. 955), notes that some think Bernard to be opposed to certainty of predestination (i.e., final salvation), but not to certainty of grace or of present righteousness, citing *Sept* 1:1 and *O Pasc* 2:3. He claims that Bernard was against *both*, since 'ex una colligitur altera.' Similarly in *ibid.* 3:5, 7.

mirum Scriptura: Nescit homo si sit dignus amore an odio! Certitudinem utique non habemus, sed spei fiducia consolatur nos, ne dubitationis huius anxietate penitus cruciemur. Propter hoc data sunt signa quaedam et indicia manifesta salutis, ut indubitabile sit eum esse de numero electorum, in quo ea signa permanserint. Propter hoc, inquam, quos praescivit Deus, et praedestinavit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui, ut quibus certitudinem negat causa sollicitudinis, vel fiduciam praestet gratia consolationis. Hoc enim est unde semper solliciti, in timore et tremore humiliemur necesse est sub potenti manu Dei, quoniam quales sumus, nosse possumus vel ex parte, quales autem futuri simus, id nosse penitus nobis impossibile est. Itaque qui stat, videat ne cadat, et in ea forma, quae salutis indicium est et argumentum praedestinationis, perseveret atque proficiat.⁵¹³

The contrast between assurance of present and uncertainty of future salvation is clearly taught by Bernard and makes good sense of most of his ambivalence regarding assurance. But it would be wrong to suggest that his teaching can be so neatly harmonized. Although the position here expounded is the dominant motif of Bernard's teaching, not all of his occasional and sermonic statements on the subject fit into this mould.⁵¹⁴

Calvin's appeal to Bernard has a limited validity. Bernard did teach a real form of assurance and this is related to Christ's work on the cross and to the witness of the Holy Spirit. Our confidence is based on the Lord's mercy, not on our achievements. Bernard, like Calvin, could cite predestination as a ground for encouragement,⁵¹⁵ but no one can be certain of their election. Here there is a major difference between Bernard and Calvin, relating to their different views of perseverance.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹³ *Sept* 1:1 (BO 4:345). The position of the question mark at the end of the first sentence has been corrected.

⁵¹⁴ There seems to remain an ambiguity concerning the possibility or the necessity of assurance. *Ann* 1:3 seems to teach assurance of final salvation. Bellarmine, *De iustificatione*, 3:10 (cols. 981–983), tries to harmonize this passage with the rest of Bernard's teaching, as follows: He rejects the idea that Bernard is here speaking of a conjectural persuasion based on signs, not a certain faith. Bernard is speaking of catholic faith, which believes that God *wants* to forgive our sins. But elsewhere Bernard teaches that we have hope, not security, and also that Christ's work does not benefit *us* in particular 'sine ulla dispositione ex parte nostra.' There are, he claims, many conditions—not just faith but also conversion, confession, fruits of repentance, etc. From these we can derive 'persuasio, et securitas [*sic*] gratiae, non tamen certitudo fidei Catholicae, vel divinae.' Bellarmine here accurately states the usual teaching of Bernard, but has he succeeded in interpreting *this* passage? Bellarmine's approach was earlier adopted by Ambrogio Catarino Politi who responded to the quotation of *Ann* 1 in the *Beneficio di Cristo* by quoting in reply from *Sept* 1.1 (Benedetto da Mantova, *Il Beneficio di Cristo* [De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press and Chicago: Newberry Library, 1972], 417).

⁵¹⁵ SC 23:15, cited in c.XLa; *Ep* 107:5, 7, 9f. Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Doctrine of Assurance,' 33f.

⁵¹⁶ Vacandard, 'Bernard (Saint),' 778f., correctly notes this difference. There is a further differ-

Bernard at the Council of Trent

Ironically, the most interesting parallels to Calvin's use of Bernard are found in the Tridentine debates on justification.⁵¹⁷ Cardinal Seripando and others espoused a doctrine of 'double justification' according to which the Christian's inherent righteousness does not suffice to merit eternal life but needs to be supplemented by the imputation of Christ's righteousness.⁵¹⁸ Other council fathers were more unreservedly evangelical in their doctrine of justification, the Englishman Richard Pate's doctrine being 'virtually indistinguishable from the views of Luther.'⁵¹⁹ Bernard was quoted by these more evangelical council fathers, especially by Seripando. A Carmelite brother, Vincent de Leone, claimed that Bernard and others believed justification to be *sola fide*.⁵²⁰ Seripando, answering the objection that the doctrine of imputed righteousness destroys good works, argued that Bernard did not cease from good works, although he trusted in 'imputata iustitia.'⁵²¹

These council fathers did not merely cite Bernard, they also quoted many of the same passages as Calvin. Seripando cited one of the *Sermones in Cantica* in favour of the thesis, drawn from Cajetan, that we are justified both by God's grace and by his righteousness.⁵²² The same passage was also quoted by bishop Sanfelice of Cava.⁵²³ Another passage from the same sermon was quoted by the Augustinian hermit Aurelius of Rocca Contracta, to prove that

ence in that while Calvin and Bernard both relate together objective and subjective grounds of assurance, Bernard lays more stress on the latter than does Calvin. Cf. Delhayé, 'La conscience morale,' 209–211; Kleineidam, 'Ursprung und Gegenstand,' 224f.; Lane, 'Calvin's Doctrine of Assurance,' 33–36.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. H. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, vol. 2 (London: T. Nelson, 1961) chapter 5, 7f.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. H. Jedin, *Papal Legate at the Council of Trent. Cardinal Seripando* (London and St. Louis: B. Herder, 1947), 326–336 for an account of Seripando's theology, based on his *De iustificatione meditata commentatio*, written in July 1546 (CT 12:613–635). For more on double justification at Trent, cf. idem, *A History of the Council of Trent*, vol. 2, 247–249, 253–259; J. F. McCue, 'Double Justification at the Council of Trent: Piety and Theology in Sixteenth Century Roman Catholicism' in *Piety, Politics and Ethics*, C. Lindberg, ed. (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1984), 39–56; P. Pas, 'La doctrine de la double justice au Concile de Trente,' *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 30 (1954): 5–53; E. Yarnold, 'Duplex iustitia. The Sixteenth Century and the Twentieth' in *Christian Authority*, G. R. Evans, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 204–223.

⁵¹⁹ D. Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 159. For other 'evangelicals' at Trent, cf. *ibid.*, 138–160; Jedin, *Papal Legate*, 339–347. Cf. also Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience*, 108–114, 161–95 on Cardinal Pole.

⁵²⁰ CT 5:433.

⁵²¹ CT 5:674.

⁵²² SC 61:5 in CT 5:335, 12:620, the quotation overlapping c.Xb. Cf. H. Jedin, *Papal Legate*, 328f.

⁵²³ CT 5:353.

the works of Christians are imperfect and that God's mercy supplies what is lacking.⁵²⁴ Another of these sermons was quoted by Seripando, to the effect that eternal life can be both the reward of merit and the gift of grace.⁵²⁵ Bernard's first sermon on the Annunciation, which Calvin quoted, is also repeatedly cited, by Seripando and others, but without overlapping Calvin's citation.⁵²⁶ Another of Calvin's quotations appears almost verbatim in the Vatican codex of a treatise *De certitudine gratiae*.⁵²⁷

Those at Trent with a more evangelical doctrine of justification appealed to Bernard and their choice of passages shows that they were at least to some extent appealing to the same Bernard as Calvin. This appeal did not go unchallenged. The secular priest Andreas Navarra argued that we do not need a 'second' justification in the form of imputed righteousness: 'Ecce igitur, quomodo iustitia Christi fit nostra per communicationem, et quomodo nostra est ab illa et dependet ab illa in esse et in conservari; qui igitur illam habet, non indiget alia nova imputatione iustitiae.'⁵²⁸ But 'the most comprehensive refutation of the doctrine of a twofold justice and the one that made the deepest impression was presented by the Jesuit Lainez.'⁵²⁹ In his discourse of 26 October he referred to three of the passages mentioned above, interpreting them differently.⁵³⁰ He approached Bernard from the perspective of a scholastic distinction between a 'pactum rigorosius,' by which God judges with strict justice, and a 'pactum . . . quo Deus disposuit sua dona coronare sublime gloriae corona.' We have merit 'iuxta benignum pactum' (the latter) but not 'secundum alium iudicium et pactum' (the former). 'Secluso misericordii pacto verum esset, nullum esse meritum.'

It is wrong to imagine that Bernard's doctrine of justification can be totally contained within any of the theories of the sixteenth century, whether Calvin's, that of the victorious party at Trent,⁵³¹ or those of the more evan-

⁵²⁴ SC 61:3 in CT 5:562, the quotation including all of c.Xa.

⁵²⁵ SC 68:6 in CT 5:374, 12:634, the quotation being the last sentence of c.XIIc and all of c.XIIa (which is also the end of c.XXXVIb). Cf. CT 1:589 where Seripando is said to have cited SC 68 and 69 'de certitudine gratiae'. Cf. CT 5:377 where Nicholas Audet quotes SC 68:6, but without overlapping Calvin's citations.

⁵²⁶ CT 5:374, 12:634 (Seripando), 5:460 (Aloysius Lippomanus), 5:533f. (Franciscus Visdomini), 5:539 (Richard of Le Mans), 12:702 (*De certitudine gratiae*). Cf. four footnotes below.

⁵²⁷ C.XI in CT 12:703, n. 2.

⁵²⁸ CT 5:558, responding to the citation of SC 61:5.

⁵²⁹ H. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent* vol. 2, 256. For a summary of Lainez's case against double justification, cf. C. E. Maxcey, 'Double Justice, Diego Laynez, and the Council of Trent,' *Church History* 48 (1979): 272-276.

⁵³⁰ CT 5:620f., where he quotes from SC 61:5 (overlapping c.Xb, but not Seripando's quotation [CT 5:335, 12:620, cited above]); SC 68:6 (part of Seripando's quotation [CT 5:374, 12:634, cited above]); *Ann* 1:1 (overlapping c.XXXIIIa, unlike the citations listed four footnotes above).

⁵³¹ Cf. H. Küng, *Justification* (London: Burns and Oates, 1964), Part 2. It lies beyond the

gical Tridentine fathers. But were Bernard to have overheard the sixteenth-century debates, it is probable in the view of the present author that he would have felt most at home with the evangelical party at Trent who sought to incorporate much of the Lutheran doctrine of justification into an essentially Catholic framework. While Calvin and Trent could both legitimately appeal to aspects of Bernard's teaching, both depart from him at points whereas the more evangelical Tridentine fathers would find it the easiest to embrace the full range of his teaching.

OTHER DOCTRINES

Predestination

Calvin considered predestination to be an important and useful doctrine and opposed those who wished to remove it from the Church's proclamation. He appealed for support to Bernard's saying that the Church could not be found or recognized without predestination since it lies hidden both in the mass of condemnation (i.e., among the wicked) and in the lap of predestination.⁵³² In this quotation Calvin omits a crucial word: 'interim,' 'for a time.' The Church was hidden when it was elect, created and fallen but not yet redeemed, the state of Christians before their conversion. The elect cannot be distinguished from the wicked before grace reveals their predestination.⁵³³ But Calvin's quotation at least suggests (incorrectly) that Bernard was referring to the *present* state of the Church.

Calvin also faced the objection that it is inconsistent to say that God calls all to salvation while he has chosen only a few. He retorted by appealing to Augustine and also by arguing that the non-universality of faith disproves the universality of election. Bernard is quoted in support, to the effect that the 'little flock' (Luke 12.32) are those whom God has foreknown and predestined. God's mercy is from eternity (because of predestination) and to eternity (because of glorification).⁵³⁴ This amounts to a claim to Bernard's support in the doctrine of unconditional election.

scope of the present work to discuss Küng's interpretation of Trent. For some critical comments, cf. A. E. McGrath, 'Justification: Barth, Trent and Küng,' *Scottish Journal of Theology* 34 (1981): 517-529.

⁵³² C.XXXVIII. The present exposition assumes, with the Allen and the Battles translations, that 'emergit' refers to the manifestation of the church and not, as in the Beveridge translation, to the origin of the church. Whereas the Latin is ambiguous, the French leans more firmly in this direction.

⁵³³ SC 78:4f. Cf. *Ep* 107:7, 10.

⁵³⁴ C.XXXIX.

Calvin warned against seeking assurance by asking whether we are elect.⁵³⁵ But the doctrine of predestination can encourage us as we see all our daily blessings as consequences of the secret adoption of election. Bernard confirms this attitude, speaking of the stability of God's purposes toward the elect.⁵³⁶

It is noteworthy that there are no sweeping claims to Bernard's full support, as there are with Augustine.⁵³⁷ Bernard is cited only on specific points and these reduce to no more than the claim that Bernard held to unconditional election: i.e., that all other grounds for the salvation of some rather than others have their ultimate origin in God's election. Election is not based on anything worthy in us. Bernard is not cited in connection with the doctrine of reprobation.

Bernard often used words relating to election and reprobation, without explaining what he meant by them.⁵³⁸ But he did explain that we can ascribe nothing to ourselves in our predestination, for God found no merit in us as a reason for his choice.⁵³⁹ As a result of the Fall all are lost and in a state of *non posse non peccare*,⁵⁴⁰ from which God gratuitously rescues his elect.⁵⁴¹ This election took place before all eternity.⁵⁴² Most of this teaching is found in Bernard's *Epistola* 107, from which Calvin quoted.⁵⁴³ Predestination is God's great and secret counsel whereby he foreordained the salvation of his elect from all eternity, from before the beginning of time.⁵⁴⁴ It is specifically those whom he has foreordained, and no others, whom God now calls effectually

⁵³⁵ *Inst.* 3:24:4. Cf. Lane, 'Calvin's Doctrine of Assurance,' 33f.

⁵³⁶ C.XL. Calvin's quotation departs slightly from Bernard in a theologically significant manner: Calvin changes 'decreverit' into 'decevit' which turns Bernard's more ambiguous statement into a precise reference to the doctrine of predestination.

⁵³⁷ E.g., *Inst.* 3:22:8.

⁵³⁸ E.g., *vas electionis* (SC 12:2, 46:6, 49:7, 85:12; *V Mal* 4:10; *V Nat* 4:1; *Pl* 1; *JB* 4; *PP* 1:1, 3:1; *Sent* 3:94; *Ep* 8:3, 78:11, 368:1). A number of key texts from Romans 8–9 are also cited: Rom. 8.29f. (SC 21:7, 23:15, 78:8; *Sept* 1:1; *QH* 7:6; *O Pasc* 1:1; *I Nov* 4:4; *Div* 4:5, 21:1, 105:1; *Ep* 107:4f., 462:1); Rom. 9.15 (*Par* 4:2); Rom. 9.16 (SC 21:11; *Gra* 1:1, 14:48; *Ep* 90:2); Rom. 9.18 (*Nat* 5:3; *Sent* 3:127).

E. Bertola, 'Libertà e Grazia nel Pensiero di Agostino e di Bernardo di Chiaravalle,' *Doctor Communis* 36 (1986): 350, notes correctly that while Bernard embraces the Augustinian doctrine and speaks of predestination or election to salvation, 'ne parla quasi di sfuggita, senza dare particolare rilievo a questo fatto.'

⁵³⁹ SC 67:11; *I Nov* 4:4.

⁵⁴⁰ *Gra* 7:21–23. Simonetti, 'L'agostinismo del "De gratia et libero arbitrio,"' 287, claims w.r.t. to *Gra* 7:21f. that Bernard was 'servendosi di terminologia agostiniana ma adattata ad un contesto che abbiamo riconosciuto piuttosto lontano dalla dottrina agostiniana della predestinazione' (p. 287).

⁵⁴¹ Cf. chapter 3, pp. 44–47.

⁵⁴² SC 23:15, 78:3–6, 8; *V Nat* 2:7; *QH* 9:3; *Asc* 2:5; *I Nov* 4:4.

⁵⁴³ C.XXXIX.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ep* 107:4f., 10.

and justifies.⁵⁴⁵ It would seem that Calvin was justified in his limited appeal to Bernard.

State of the Departed

Calvin twice cited Bernard on the state of the faithful departed, both times in the context of his anti-Anabaptist polemic against the doctrine of 'soul sleep'.⁵⁴⁶ It has naturally been assumed that these quotations were meant to refute the Anabaptist error.⁵⁴⁷ But the passages quoted, far from denying the doctrine of soul-sleep, come in sermons that in places even appear to teach it. Despite the context in which they appear, these quotations are not directed against the Anabaptists. Here, as often, Calvin was fighting on two fronts. The main blast of his polemic is undoubtedly directed against the Anabaptists, but there is also a 'second front.'

In the *Psychopannychia* the dossier of patristic quotations that concludes with Bernard is introduced with a carefully balanced statement: 'Sic enim permiserunt sibi loqui veteres, ut dicerent animas quidem in paradiso et in coelo esse, nondum tamen gloriam aut mercedem percepisse.' This is immediately followed by a warning not to attribute to the departed the glory of the resurrection.⁵⁴⁸ A similar twofold emphasis is found in the section of the *Instruction* where the same patristic dossier appears.⁵⁴⁹ The quotations are mainly opposed to the idea that the faithful departed are already in glory, though some of them also oppose the doctrine of soul sleep. The Bernardine quotations contain only the former element. The faithful departed are not yet perfect. They have attained to rest but not yet to the glory of the kingdom. Between our bodily life here on earth and our life in heaven with our glorified bodies there lies an intermediate stage which may be compared to waiting in the doorway of a temple.

It is clear that, in addition to his main attack on the doctrine of soul sleep, Calvin was aware of a 'second front' against unnamed opponents who attributed the full glory of the resurrection to the faithful departed. That no op-

⁵⁴⁵ *Ep* 107:4. Here, as elsewhere in this letter (cf. chapter 3, pp. 66–67), Bernard forgets for a moment the fact that not all who are converted will persevere to final salvation.

⁵⁴⁶ C.XVIII in a general work against the Anabaptists; c.XIX in a work devoted specifically to the question of the intermediate state.

⁵⁴⁷ E.g., by H. Quistorp, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things* (London: Lutterworth, 1955), 91; W. N. Todd, *The Function of the Patristic Writings in the Thought of John Calvin* (Th.D. dissertation, New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1964), 57.

⁵⁴⁸ *CO* 5:214. There is much in *CO* 5:190f., 210–216 against attributing premature glory to the departed.

⁵⁴⁹ *CO* 7:124–126.

ponents are named is no counter-argument since Calvin often attacked unnamed foes.⁵⁵⁰ In the 1559 *Institutio* he returned to this topic. Here he opposed speculation as to the precise abode or state of the departed. While it is rash to inquire whether or not the saints already enjoy 'caelesti gloria,' Calvin states that they are capable of 'beatae gloriae,' although they do not yet enjoy 'gloriae coronam.' They obtain blessed rest as in joy they await the 'fruitionem promissae gloriae.'⁵⁵¹ Clearly Calvin sought to occupy middle ground. He rejected the Anabaptist doctrine of soul sleep which denies that the departed already experience reward or punishment, but was also concerned to insist that full salvation must await the return of Christ. In this section of the *Institutio* Calvin opposed many different errors concerning the resurrection, but without naming any opponents.⁵⁵² While the doctrine of soul sleep was held by Anabaptists, the premature glory of the departed was the Roman position.⁵⁵³ Calvin was defending his position on two fronts: against Anabaptists who attributed too little glory to the faithful departed and against Rome which attributed too much. The second front is less overt in Calvin's writings and has sometimes been missed by his interpreters.⁵⁵⁴

Calvin sought to occupy middle ground between the Anabaptists on the 'left' and Rome on the 'right.' But the vagueness of his references to the threat from the 'right' in both the *Institutio* and the anti-Anabaptist treatises suggests that he was uncertain precisely where this threat lay. He was not completely familiar with the Roman position. He accused pope John XXII of teaching the mortality of the soul, but this accusation is unfounded.⁵⁵⁵ In 1331 John XXII began to teach that the souls of the faithful departed do not enjoy the beatific vision before the resurrection.⁵⁵⁶ This led to a storm of controversy until his death in 1334. His successor, the Cistercian Benedict XII, examined the subject carefully and in 1336 issued the bull *Benedictus Deus* which declared that prior to the resurrection the saints 'viderunt et vident divinam essentiam

⁵⁵⁰ This is clearly shown by the footnotes of OS 3-5.

⁵⁵¹ *Inst.* 3:25:6 (OS 4:442). The departed do not yet enjoy 'resurrectionis gloriam' (c.XIXd), 'la gloire du Royaume' (c.XVIIIa), 'immortalitatis gloriam' (*Comm.* Luke 16.22 [CO 45:410]) or 'perfecta coelestis vitae gloria' (*Comm.* Luke 23.43 [CO 45:776]). Cf. *Psychopannychia* (CO 5:211, 216) for the idea of a continuing progression in blessedness and glory until the resurrection.

⁵⁵² *Inst.* 3:25:5-8; cf. footnotes in OS 4:439-451.

⁵⁵³ OS 4:442, n. 2.

⁵⁵⁴ Quistorp, *Calvin's Doctrine*, 81-102 (on 'The State of the Soul after Death'), makes no mention of this 'second front.' He is aware of the twofold nature of Calvin's position but sees only a 'contradiction' (81f., 87f., 95).

⁵⁵⁵ *Inst.* 4:7:28; *Psych.* (CO 5:171); *Anab.* (CO 7:127). Mooi, KDE, 331f., 341, comments on this. Cf. J. N. Tylenda, 'Calvin and the Avignon Sermons of John XXII,' *Irish Theological Quarterly* 41 (1974): 37-52.

⁵⁵⁶ Details of this controversy are found in X. Le Bachelet, 'Benoît XII,' DTC 2:658-673.

visione intuitiva et etiam faciali, nulla mediante creatura in ratione objecti visi se habente, sed divina essentia immediate se nude, clare et aperte eis ostendente, quodque sic videntes eadem divina essentia perfruuntur . . .⁵⁵⁷ This became Catholic orthodoxy. Calvin's position is closer to that of John XXII, whom he maligns, in that they agree in deferring the full glory of the faithful departed to the resurrection.⁵⁵⁸

Calvin's appeal to Bernard appears to be justified.⁵⁵⁹ In the two sermons on All Saints quoted by Calvin there are passages that could be taken to favour the idea of soul sleep. The former sermon is largely an exposition of Psalm 116.7f. ('Convertere, anima mea, in requiem tuam . . .'⁵⁶⁰) and this rest is often described as sleep, the word being drawn from Psalm 4.8.⁵⁶¹ But in the other sermon Bernard refers to the desire of these souls for their bodies and their prayer to God.⁵⁶² This clearly indicates that he did not regard 'sleep' as lack of consciousness, as is also shown by other passages.⁵⁶³

Bernard described three stages of the soul: in tents, in the courts, and in the house of God; in a corruptible body, without a body, and in a glorified body.⁵⁶⁴ The middle stage can be compared to Easter Saturday: after the cross but before the resurrection.⁵⁶⁵ In this state souls have rest but not yet beatitude. They are without fault but not yet without wrinkle.⁵⁶⁶ They have no sorrow but yet they cry to God (Rev. 6.9–11). This is because they have no bodies and because the body of Christ is still incomplete.⁵⁶⁷ They contem-

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., DTC 2:658.

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. Tylenda, 'Avignon Sermons,' 47: 'Calvin's opinion, is, in fact, hardly distinguishable from that of John XXII.' Cf. Quistorp, *Calvin's Doctrine*, 88.

⁵⁵⁹ The following account of Bernard is dependent upon B. de Vregille, 'L'attente des saints d'après saint Bernard', *Nouvelle revue théologique* 70 (1948): 225–244. In c.XVIIIa Calvin omits Bernard's reference to the faithful departed being 'sub altari.' He is reprimanded for this by Tylenda, 'Avignon Sermons,' 47, for giving an incomplete interpretation. But this is to treat Calvin's selective polemical appeal to Bernard as if it were a systematic exposition. More seriously, Calvin omits 'plenam' before 'gloriam' at the end of cc.XVIIIa; XIXa. This could be taken to imply that Bernard denied all glory to the faithful departed, but that was not Calvin's own position. Many sixteenth-century editions omit the word and Calvin's omission is probably not his fault.

⁵⁶⁰ OS 2:2 (BO 5:343).

⁵⁶¹ OS 2:4, 6f.

⁵⁶² OS 3:1, 3f. De Vregille, 'L'attente des saints,' 231, discusses the possibility of a development of Bernard's position during these sermons, but the consciousness of the departed is also implied by OS 2:4–8, so there is no question of Bernard having changed his position between sermons 2 and 3.

⁵⁶³ De Vregille, 'L'attente des saints,' 230–244, quotes many.

⁵⁶⁴ OS 3:1. Cf. *Dil* 11:30–33.

⁵⁶⁵ *Palm* 3:5.

⁵⁶⁶ *Dil* 11:30–33; OS 2:4, 3:2.

⁵⁶⁷ *Dil* 11:30–32; *V Nat* 2:5; OS 2:8, 3:1.

plate the humanity of Christ, but not yet his divinity.⁵⁶⁸ While they contemplate 'per speciem,' 'a perfectissima contemplatione divinitatis quodammodo retardantur.'⁵⁶⁹

Mabillon denied that Bernard supported the position of John XXII and claimed him for later Catholic orthodoxy, citing three passages from his sermons.⁵⁷⁰ Vacandard asked whether these passages should be seen as contradicting Bernard's usual position, as expounded above, or as a later retraction of it.⁵⁷¹ Against the latter possibility he points out that Bernard, in one of his last works, alludes to the position of the sermons on All Saints with no hint of disapproval.⁵⁷² He also argues against the view that Bernard contradicted himself and seeks to interpret the three passages in line with the rest of Bernard's teaching.⁵⁷³ Since these passages occur in sermons this line of interpretation appears to be the most plausible. Like Calvin, Bernard held to a *via media* between soul sleep and the later Roman position, and so Calvin could justly claim his broad support for his position.

Clergy and Papacy

Calvin's main preoccupation while at Strassburg was with the Church and its ministry. During this time he cited Bernard at length for his verdict on the state of the clergy and the papacy.⁵⁷⁴ These citations fall into three groups.

Clerical Corruption

Calvin's prime target was the papacy, but he did spare a few shafts for the episcopate. In 1539, in his reply to Cardinal Sadolet, he held 'pontificem romanum, cum toto pseudoepiscoporum grege, qui pastorum locum istic occuparunt, immanes esse lupos.'⁵⁷⁵ In support of this he noted that he was not the first thus to complain, for Bernard had thundered against Eugenius and the bishops of his age, although conditions then were not so bad as in Calvin's

⁵⁶⁸ OS 4:1-3. Calvin held that God is seen after death (*Comm.* 1 John 3.2) but that fullness of vision awaits the Last Day (*Comm.* 1 Cor. 13.12).

⁵⁶⁹ *Div* 87:4 (BO 6/1:331f.).

⁵⁷⁰ PL 183:119-22, citing *Vict* 2:4; *Mal* 2:5; *Div* 19:3. De Vregille, 'L'attente des saints,' ignores these passages which oppose his interpretation.

⁵⁷¹ Vacandard, 'Bernard (Saint),' 781f.

⁵⁷² *Csi* 5:4:9.

⁵⁷³ *Vict* 2:4 and *Mal* 2:5 he explains as rhetorical exaggeration; *Div* 19:3 ('nudis . . . oculis deitatis intuentur essentiam' [BO 6/1:163]) 'traite du bonheur du ciel en général, et n'aborde pas la question particulière de l'état des âmes qui attendent la résurrection.'

⁵⁷⁴ Cc.IV; XIII-XVI. The 1543 *Institutio* was written at Strassburg. C.XXIII, the one remaining citation on the ministry, is a repeat of c.XIVh.

⁵⁷⁵ OS 1:476.

own time.⁵⁷⁶ In the 1543 *Institutio* he described how primitive church government had been corrupted under the papal tyranny. Abuses had arisen, such as corrupt methods of selection and ordination of clergy, the perversion of the minister into a liturgical sacrificing priest, the simoniacal distribution of benefices, pluralism, clerical monks, clerical idleness, and absenteeism.⁵⁷⁷ These corruptions began in the age of Gregory the Great, had grown worse by the time of Bernard, who denounced the whole clerical order, and were much worse in Calvin's own time.⁵⁷⁸

Calvin could with justice point to Bernard's protest against clerical abuses.⁵⁷⁹ Bernard had attacked a number of the specific abuses mentioned by Calvin, namely simony, pluralism, absenteeism, and clerical idleness. His appeal to Bernard is justified inasmuch as Bernard also opposed clerical corruption and some of the same individual abuses as did Calvin. But some of the abuses attacked by Calvin would not have been seen by Bernard as abuses, namely monastic clergy and a sacerdotal priesthood. Like Calvin, Bernard was unhappy with the method of electing bishops; unlike Calvin, he did not wish to reserve a role for the laity.⁵⁸⁰ Whereas Bernard wished to correct the abuses of the system, Calvin wished to correct the system itself.

Papal Tyranny

Calvin's opposition to the clergy fades into insignificance in comparison with his attack on papal corruption.⁵⁸¹ He saw the centralizing of power at Rome

⁵⁷⁶ C.IV.

⁵⁷⁷ *Inst.* 4:5:1–11, all from 1543 or earlier.

⁵⁷⁸ C.XIII.

⁵⁷⁹ Cf. *Mor*; *Csi*, in addition to individual passages in other works. For the possibility of rhetorical exaggeration in such attacks, cf. J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York: Mentor Omega, 1962), 137–139. For a warning against the danger of over-emphasizing Bernard's criticisms of worldly bishops, cf. T. Renna, 'Saint Bernard's View of the Episcopacy in Historical Perspective, 400–1150,' *Cistercian Studies* 15 (1980): 46. For the style of *Csi*, cf. E. T. Kennan, 'Antithesis and Argument in the *De Consideratione*' in *Bernard of Clairvaux. Studies Presented to Dom Jean Leclercq* (Washington: Cistercian Publications, 1973), 91–109; K. F. Morrison, 'Hermeneutics and Enigma: Bernard of Clairvaux's *De Consideratione*,' *Viator* 19 (1988): 129–151. On the other hand, the rhetorical element in Calvin's attack should also not be ignored. Cf. R. W. Richgels, 'Scholasticism Meets Humanism in the Counter-Reformation. The Clash of Cultures in Robert Bellarmine's Use of Calvin in the *Controversies*,' *Sixteenth Century Journal* 6:1 (1975): 61–66.

⁵⁸⁰ B. Jacqueline, *Episcopat et papauté chez Saint Bernard de Clairvaux* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1975), 159–169.

⁵⁸¹ Wyclif also cited *Csi* against the papacy in his *Tractatus de potestate pape*. Cf. P. de Vooght, 'Du "De Consideratione" de saint Bernard au "De Potestate Papae" de Wiclif,' *Irénikon* 26 (1953): 114–132. Cf. Posset, 'Recommendations,' 25–36. Luther held that every pope should know *Csi* by heart (LW 31:342). Erasmus cited Bernard as proof that the criticism of abuses is acceptable (P. S. Allen et al., eds., *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. 5 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906], 128, 499).

or, as he put it, the rise of the papal tyranny as the root of much of the evil in the church. Bernard is quoted at length in support of this thesis.⁵⁸²

In assessing Calvin's interpretation of Bernard a clear distinction must be drawn between what Calvin claimed to be Bernard's teaching and the conclusions that he himself drew from it. Bernard thundered against Eugenius and the bishops of his age but Calvin went on to argue that the pope and his 'pseudo-bishops' were ravening wolves who only scatter and trample on the kingdom of Christ.⁵⁸³ Bernard complained of the moral corruption of the curia and the evils of centralization but Calvin went on to reject the role of the pope as 'summum in terris Ecclesiae caput, et universalem totius orbis Episcopum.'⁵⁸⁴ Calvin observed that conditions in his own time were worse than those with which Gregory and Bernard were so displeased but went on to claim that the papacy was altogether unknown to them.⁵⁸⁵ Bernard complained of the evils of centralization but Calvin went on to deny the view that the pope is the universal bishop, with the other bishops acting as vicars.⁵⁸⁶ Although Calvin cited Bernard's teaching correctly each time, he went on to draw conclusions that find no support in Bernard.

Bernard's doctrine of the papacy and episcopate is far removed from Calvin's.⁵⁸⁷ While he was concerned about the abuses within the Roman Catholic system his criticism did not extend to the theory behind the system.⁵⁸⁸ He may have been vehement in his denunciation of the episcopate but he never thought to question its authority. In fact, despite his complaints, he fought to maintain the authority of the episcopate.⁵⁸⁹ In short, his reaction to abuse was reform of the system from within, not the rejection of

⁵⁸² Cc.IV; XIV; XV; XXIII.

⁵⁸³ C.IV.

⁵⁸⁴ C.IV. In *Inst.* 4:7:19 Calvin sets out the view of the papacy to which he has opposed Bernard. It is summarized by the phrase quoted (*OS* 5:122) and developed in terms of the jurisdictional sovereignty of the pope. In this citation Calvin twice slightly heightens the impact of Bernard by misquotation: in c.XIVf Bernard's statement that more good men have been spoiled by Rome than evil men bettered becomes an absolute contrast in that evil men don't improve but good men fail; in c.XIVh the omission of 'forte' makes Bernard's statement less tentative. Neither of these significantly alters the sense. Bernard's opposition to appeals (c.XIVg) was also cited at Trent (CT 9:954).

⁵⁸⁵ C.XV.

⁵⁸⁶ C.XXIII.

⁵⁸⁷ This paragraph is partly dependent upon Y. Congar, 'L'ecclésiologie de S. Bernard,' SBT, 136-190; B. Jacqueline, *Episcopat et papauté*.

⁵⁸⁸ It can be debated whether Bernard was 'Gregorian' or 'episcopalian' (cf. chapter 3, pp. 81-84) but this was a difference *within* Roman Catholicism.

⁵⁸⁹ For denunciation of episcopal abuse, cf. *SC* 33:8, 15f.; *Csi* 4:16:19f.; *Mor* 2:4-7, 7:25-29. For defence of episcopal authority, *Csi* 3:4:14-18; *Mor* 9:33-37.

it.⁵⁹⁰ His attitude to the papacy was similar. He was a merciless critic of the many abuses consequent upon the centralizing policies of the Reform papacy.⁵⁹¹ But at the same time he had a high doctrine of the power and authority of the pope. He is the vicar of Christ, the vicar of Peter with the full authority of Matthew 16.18f.⁵⁹² He has *plenitudo potestatis*—a supreme and universal power in the church.⁵⁹³ Faced with abuses, Bernard admitted that the pope had the right to do such things, although it was another matter whether he ought to do them.⁵⁹⁴ He appealed to the tribunal of Christ from what he saw as an unjust papal verdict, but he did not think to defy the verdict, much less to break with Rome.⁵⁹⁵ Bernard did share many of Calvin's complaints against papal abuses, but he was far from agreeing with Calvin's response to them.

Calvin held that the Roman Catholic Church was no longer a true church, although there remained churches in that body, 'in quibus semisepultus lateat Christus, obrutum Evangelium, profligata pietas, cultus Dei fere abolitus.'⁵⁹⁶

Quare nullum est periculum ne ab exitiali tot flagitiorum participatione desciscendo, ab Ecclesia Christi divellamur. . . . Abunde enim mihi est, oportuisse nos ab ipsa recedere ut ad Christum accederemus.⁵⁹⁷

Calvin was prepared to separate from the papacy and the Roman church because of its abuses and errors. To justify *this* from Bernard requires much more than the most violent protests against abuses. But Calvin was unable to produce more than such protest in his citations of Bernard. Bernard's ideals come closer to those of the Catholic Reformation than to Calvin's. Bernard was cited

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. SC 46:4, 66:11 for his concern for ecclesiastical order.

⁵⁹¹ E.g., *Csi* 3:2:6–12 (appeals), 3:4:14–18 (exemptions), 4:4:12f.; *Ep* 290 (legates).

⁵⁹² Vicar of Christ: *Csi* 2:8:16, 4:7:23; *Ep* 251. But cf. *Mor* 8:31; *Ep* 59, where the term is applied to bishops and abbots. Vicar of Peter: *Ep* 183, 243:6, cf. *Csi* 2:8:15; *Ep* 346. Cf. J. W. Gray, 'The Problem of Papal Power in the Ecclesiology of St. Bernard,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (1974): 5f., 10–17, for the possible rhetorical motivation behind such passages.

⁵⁹³ *Plenitudo potestatis*: *Csi* 2:8:16, 3:4:14; *Ep* 131:2, 239. Cf. *Ep* 198:2. The term is used of Bernard himself in *Vita prima Bernardi* 2:2:8. Cf. J. Rivière, 'In partem sollicitudinis. Évolution d'une formule pontificale,' *Revue des sciences religieuses* 5 (1925): 218f.; B. Jacqueline, 'Bernard et l'expression "plenitudo potestatis"' in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, T. Merton, pref. (Paris: Editions Alsatia, 1953), 345–348, where there is surprisingly no mention of the *Csi* 3:4:14 reference. Supreme and universal power: *Csi* 2:1:4, 2:6:10, 2:8:15f.; *Ep* 131:2, 237:1f.

⁵⁹⁴ *Csi* 3:4:14 (c.XIVh).

⁵⁹⁵ *Ep* 1:7. Bernard's support for Innocent II against Anacletus has been interpreted as an attempt to make the better man pope regardless of the legal situation (H. V. White, 'The Gregorian Ideal and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 21 [1960]: 335–341) but to manipulate the system is not to reject it.

⁵⁹⁶ *Inst.* 4:2:11f., the quotation being from OS 5:42.

⁵⁹⁷ *Inst.* 4:2:2, 6 (OS 5:31, 37).

at Trent by those who wished to see practical reform in the church.⁵⁹⁸ Calvin successfully demonstrated from Bernard the awful condition of the contemporary Roman Catholic Church, but he failed to justify from Bernard his own reaction to it.

Did Calvin believe that Bernard supported him in his breach with Rome? Did he mistakenly imagine that Bernard supported him fully? Mooi, referring to Calvin's 1539 citation, accuses him of not having taken into account that it was at the request of pope Eugenius III that Bernard wrote his *De consideratione*.⁵⁹⁹ It is possible that in 1539 Calvin was ignorant of the true nature of the work. There is no evidence that he had by then read the work—but nor is there any certain proof that he had this particular work in mind.⁶⁰⁰ By the 1543 *Institutio* it is clear from the range of his citations that Calvin had made a careful study of the work and it is hard to believe that he was then ignorant of the circumstances of its composition, which are set out in the preface. There is also clear evidence that Calvin knew Bernard's doctrine of the papacy, as will be shown.

Did Calvin deliberately seek to conceal the differences between himself and Bernard? Did he seek to deceive his readers into supposing that Bernard supported him totally? This was demonstrably not his aim. He quoted two passages which contain Bernard's positive doctrine of the papacy:

Sic facitendo, probatis vos habere plenitudinem potestatis: sed iustitiae non ita. Facitis hoc quia potestis, sed utrum etiam debeatis quaestio est.⁶⁰¹

Ergo in criminibus, non in possessionibus potestas vestra: quoniam propter illa, non propter has accepistis claves regni caelorum.⁶⁰²

Calvin could easily have omitted these sections. There are many gaps in his quotations.⁶⁰³ Had he been seeking to mislead his readers he would have done so. But he chose to leave in his quotations passages that are plainly contrary to his own position on the papacy.

Calvin did not claim total support from Bernard for his attitude to the papacy. He cited him for specific points only, and nowhere claimed his overall support. The one possible exception lies in his claim that the papacy was utterly unknown to all the saints, meaning those whom he has cited, such as

⁵⁹⁸ CT 2:731, 781, 856, 874, 9:566, 805, 954ff.

⁵⁹⁹ Mooi, KDE, 320, 341, referring to c.IV.

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. Appendix I for the possible sources of c.IV.

⁶⁰¹ C.XIVh.

⁶⁰² C.XVIc.

⁶⁰³ Cf. chapter 2, p. 24.

Gregory and Bernard.⁶⁰⁴ But this should not be understood so as to contradict the passages quoted above. Calvin himself immediately qualified this claim by admitting that in Bernard's time the corruption was not much different from his own age. In the context it appears that by 'papacy' Calvin meant contemporary papal corruption as much as a particular doctrine of church government.⁶⁰⁵

Temporal Power of the Papacy

Calvin quoted Bernard in opposition to the political claims of the papacy, whether based on the 'Donation of Constantine' or on a supposed divine right.⁶⁰⁶ The argument presented by Bernard in Calvin's quotations is moderate. Whatever grounds there may be for claiming civil jurisdiction, there is no apostolic right to it. Such jurisdiction is below the dignity of the spiritual office of the papacy. The papal role is ministry, not dominion. Calvin concluded these quotations by asserting that it was contrary to Bernard to claim that the pope has the *supremum ius* of both swords, *iure divino*. As well as quoting Bernard accurately, Calvin was certainly correct in claiming that he was opposed to the undue involvement of the papacy in temporal affairs. But while Bernard's practical attitude is reasonably clear, the theory underlying it is more complex and remains the subject of controversy.⁶⁰⁷

Calvin's claims may be considered in three parts. First, he opposed papal involvement in civil jurisdiction. It is clear that Bernard also opposed this but it is important to note why he opposed it. He argued that such work was below the dignity of the priesthood. The priest's work is to forgive sins, not to

⁶⁰⁴ C.XVb. Luther traced the origin of the papacy to the reign of Gregory VII, the time when Bernard was born (LW 54:407). He admitted that while Bernard and others saw the evils of the papacy they did not discern them as clearly as did the Reformers (WA 39[2]:167f.).

⁶⁰⁵ *Inst.* 4:7:22 is directed against those defending the existing state of the papacy by appealing to writers who wrote when conditions were very different. As Calvin was uninterested in the ontological freedom of a humanity that was morally enslaved to sin, so he was impatient of theories about a papacy that was manifestly corrupt.

⁶⁰⁶ C.XVI.

⁶⁰⁷ The literature is surveyed in E. Kennan, 'The "De Consideratione" of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the Papacy in the Mid-Twelfth Century: A Review of Scholarship,' *Traditio* 23 (1967): 73-115. Subsequently there have appeared B. Jacqueline, 'Le pape d'après le livre II du "De consideratione ad Eugenium Papam" de Saint Bernard de Clairvaux,' *Studia Gratiana post octava decreti saecularia* 14 (1967): 219-239; idem, *Episcopat et papauté*; idem, 'Le Pape et les Romains d'après le "De Consideratione ad Eugenium papam" de Saint Bernard de Clairvaux,' *L'Année Canonique* 17 (1973): 603-614; J. W. Gray, 'Problem of Papal Power,' J. R. Sommerfeldt, 'Charismatic and Gregorian Leadership in the Thought of Bernard of Clairvaux' in M.B. Pennington, ed. gen., *Bernard of Clairvaux* (Washington: Cistercian Publications, 1973), 73-90. Much of the debate concerns whether Bernard was 'Gregorian,' which to some extent hangs on the definition of 'Gregorian.' In the present context, the issue is what Bernard taught, irrespective of whether that may be entitled 'Gregorian.'

divide estates. Furthermore, civil jurisdiction is to transgress on another man's province, to put the sickle in another man's harvest. But where necessity requires, 'si enim in vobis iudicabitur hic mundus, indigni estis, qui de minimis iudicetis'.⁶⁰⁸ This leaves open the question of whether the pope is to avoid civil jurisdiction because he has no right to it or simply because it is beneath his dignity.⁶⁰⁹

Second, Calvin appealed to Bernard against the 'Donation of Constantine.' It seems that Bernard, in common with his contemporaries, probably accepted the authenticity of this document.⁶¹⁰ But he deplored its consequences. The pope was criticized for imitating Constantine's pomp rather than Peter's simplicity. This was to be tolerated but not claimed as a debt.⁶¹¹ Bernard was against the involvement of clerics in affairs of state.⁶¹² If the Romans obstinately refuse to have him Eugenius is to be glad to leave Rome and exchange it for the world, by preaching the gospel.⁶¹³ Elsewhere, however, the emperor was urged to take steps to quell the rebellious Romans.⁶¹⁴ However distasteful he may have found it, Bernard did not simply oppose the 'Donation of Constantine,' as Calvin suggests. The pope may not have such rights *apostolico iure*, but even the passage quoted by Calvin allows for the possibility of some other basis for them, such as the 'Donation of Constantine.'⁶¹⁵

Third, Calvin opposed the papal claim to political power *divino iure*. As Calvin saw it, Bernard's teaching refutes papal claims to the supreme right, *divino iure*, of both swords, the spiritual and the temporal. He did not seem to realize that Bernard himself had taught that both swords belong to the church.⁶¹⁶ On the other hand, he did teach that lordship and dominion were excluded for the pope, as Calvin quoted, and that the pope's role was

⁶⁰⁸ *Csi* 1:6:7 (BO 3:402), quoting 1 Cor. 6.2.

⁶⁰⁹ Cf. further under the third point, below, on the claim to political power *divino iure*.

⁶¹⁰ Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Bernard*, vol. 2, 462.

⁶¹¹ *Csi* 4:3:6, cf. 2:6:10.

⁶¹² *Ep* 78.

⁶¹³ *Csi* 4:3:8.

⁶¹⁴ *Ep* 244.

⁶¹⁵ *Csi* 2:6:10 in c.XVIa. Calvin is to some extent guilty of misquotation here as the original refers to papal wealth while he applies it to political power.

⁶¹⁶ *Csi* 4:3:7; *Ep* 256:1f. Cf. *Tpl* 3:5. Cf. Jacqueline, *Episcopat et papauté*, 121–124; idem, 'Le pouvoir pontifical selon Saint Bernard. L'argument des deux glaives,' *L'Année Canonique* 2 (1953): 197–201. For a more recent discussion of the two swords, together with a survey of earlier scholarship, cf. C. Turrini, 'San Bernardo e l'Allegoria delle due Spade,' *Rivista Cistercense* 1 (1984): 5–41. As the title suggests, the author denies that Bernard developed a 'teoria delle due spade.' Instead, 'ne parla sempre incidentalmente, come di un'immagine che spieghi meglio il suo discorso.' Most of the time it is only 'un artificio letterario' (p. 40). Morrison, 'Hermeneutics and Enigma,' 129f., 148–150, maintains that Bernard's exegesis of the two swords is *intentionally* unclear, as part of a 'hermeneutic strategy of enigma.'

stewardship and management rather than possession or dominion.⁶¹⁷ But stewardship and management are not necessarily incompatible with the possession of ultimate political power on earth. Professor Ullmann's 'hierocratic thesis' is that for Bernard the pope is the one true monarch of Christendom and that secular rulers simply exercise power that he delegates to them.⁶¹⁸

This 'hierocratic thesis' must be tested by an examination of Bernard's teaching on the use of the temporal sword. The norm is for it to be drawn for the church by the state. This could be against heretics, or for a crusade, or against those who are in revolt against the pope.⁶¹⁹ The last instance involves the political power of the pope, but only in the limited territories that belong to him. In each case it is assumed that the pope and the emperor work hand in hand. This therefore leaves unanswered the question of who has ultimate political power, even if (as is the case) the sword is on each occasion to be drawn at the pope's bidding. The crucial question is what happens when the pope and the emperor disagree. The hierocratic thesis hangs on the power of the pope *against* the emperor rather than with him.

The pope can certainly apply spiritual sanctions against rulers if they sin. This much at least is implied by the statement that the pope is armed with a sword 'ad alligandos reges eorum in compedibus et nobiles eorum in manicis ferreis'.⁶²⁰ Here and elsewhere⁶²¹ there appears to be a veiled threat of political sanctions (or political consequences of spiritual sanctions) *ratione peccati*. But this still does not prove the 'hierocratic thesis.' This thesis requires not just that the pope should be able to act *ratione peccati* but that his is the ultimate monarchic rule and that temporal rulers are merely his delegates. It requires that he should be able to depose them at will, as he could the bishops. But Bernard's teaching points no further than to a dualism that can be bridged by the pope when rulers sin. Exalted though this makes the pope, he is still not the hierocratic ruler of the Christian society in all its aspects. Professor Ullmann holds that Bernard's unified view and the overpowering role that he gave to faith 'could not lead to any other 'political' doctrine but the hierocratic one.'⁶²² It is 'self-evident' that the Petrine commission gives the pope the gov-

⁶¹⁷ *Csi* 2:6:9-12, 3:1:1f.

⁶¹⁸ W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1970, 3rd edition), 426-437.

⁶¹⁹ *SC* 66:12 (against heresy); *Ep* 256:1f. (crusade); *Ep* 244 (against the rebellious Romans). The two swords here are two sanctions open to the papacy and do not necessarily imply that the pope has sovereignty over the temporal realm.

⁶²⁰ *Ep* 237:2 (BO 8:114), citing Ps. 149.8.

⁶²¹ *Ep* 255:1.

⁶²² Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, 427.

ernment not just of the *sacerdotium* but of the *saeculum*.⁶²³ It is argued that as Christ is both king and high priest and the *regnum* and the *sacerdotium* are united in him, they must also be united in the pope, his vicar.⁶²⁴ But in the context, Bernard used the unity of the two offices in Christ to prove not that the pope is both king and priest but that kings and priests should work closely together for mutual support. Caesar is urged to restore to Caesar what is Caesar's and to the Church what is hers.⁶²⁵ This clearly implies a division between the kingdom and the priesthood. It is not without justice that most scholars have declined to follow Professor Ullmann's hierocratic interpretation of Bernard, though the picture that has here emerged goes a long way in that direction.

Bernard's view of papal power was clearly not as low as Calvin implied. He would have shared Calvin's opposition to the political machinations of the sixteenth-century papacy but would have seen them as an abuse of power as much as a misappropriation of power.

Calvin was broadly correct in his presentation of Bernardine teaching on the papacy and the episcopate. He could reasonably claim that Bernard would have opposed many of the abuses that he opposed. But it does not follow that Bernard shared his doctrines of the papacy and the episcopate or that he would have agreed with Calvin's reaction to contemporary abuses. Bernard's approach points to the Catholic Reformation more than to Protestantism.

Transubstantiation

Calvin's sole reference to Bernard on the Eucharist comes in his last citation.⁶²⁶ He claimed that although a harsher mode of speaking had prevailed by the age of Bernard, transubstantiation was not yet recognized ('agnita'). This apparently simple statement raises a number of questions. In 1536 Calvin had accused Hildebrand of being the 'premier determinateur' of transubstantiation, in the century before Bernard.⁶²⁷ The contradiction between these two statements could be explained by the lapse of more than twenty years, but Calvin repeated the earlier statement⁶²⁸ and the immediate context of the Bernardine citation also raises problems. Calvin was opposing two main

⁶²³ Ibid., 429. As Kennan argues ('Review of Scholarship,' 96f.) the 'saeculum' over which the pope is said to rule in *Csi* 2:8:16 (BO 3:424) is not the secular world but the universal church as opposed to the single church entrusted to a bishop.

⁶²⁴ Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, 430, arguing from *Ep* 244.

⁶²⁵ *Ep* 244:1, 3.

⁶²⁶ C.XLI.

⁶²⁷ *Deux discours prononcés au colloque de Lausanne* (CO 9:884-886).

⁶²⁸ *Articuli facultatis parisiensi cum antidoto* (CO 7:14), where the same story about Hildebrand is repeated, in 1544.

errors: a carnal and local concept of Christ's presence in the Eucharist and the doctrine of the absence of the substance of the bread and wine.⁶²⁹ Transubstantiation is held to have arisen from difficulties with the doctrine of the local presence. As it was hard to conceive of two substances being simultaneously present the notion arose that the bread was converted into the body of Christ, against the teaching of both Scripture and the ancient Church. In the context, 'fictitia illa transsubstantiatio, pro qua hodie . . . depugnant' is the doctrine of the annihilation and absence of the bread and wine, for Calvin carefully argued that the fathers understood these to have remained.⁶³⁰ It might be imagined therefore that the doctrine not yet recognized by Bernard's age was that of the absence of the bread and the wine in the sacrament. But Peter Lombard, Bernard's contemporary, is charged with teaching precisely this doctrine.⁶³¹ Similarly, the doctrine of the carnal and local presence was stated most crudely in the eleventh century.⁶³² It is unlikely that the doctrine referred to is transubstantiation seen as just one particular way of explaining the local presence and the absence of the bread and wine, for Calvin did not show a concern to distinguish between such theories.⁶³³ It is possible that he meant that the formal ecclesiastical recognition of transubstantiation by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 came after the age of Bernard, but the contrast seems to be between two ways of *speaking* ('durior . . . loquendi ratio'). Thus the most likely explanation is that Calvin was thinking primarily of the word *transsubstantiatio*, probably also with a view to the Aristotelian metaphysics that came to underlie it.⁶³⁴

Modern scholarship has reached conclusions very close to Calvin's on this point. Roland Bandinelli (later pope Alexander III) is the first whose use of the word survives in our records. This is in his *Sententiae* of about 1140–1142.⁶³⁵ It is significant that he used the word in a way contrary to later

⁶²⁹ *Inst.* 4:17:12–15, which hangs together as a unity.

⁶³⁰ *Inst.* 4:17:14 (*OS* 5:357). Calvin refers to the bread and wine as 'in nihilum ipsa redigi' (*OS* 5:358), thus displaying ignorance of or disdain for the scholastic distinction between transubstantiation (conversion) and annihilation (succession or substitution). This confusion is seen more clearly in *Petit traité de la sainte cène* (*OS* 1:520) in 1541.

⁶³¹ *Inst.* 4:17:13. There can be no reasonable question of a change of opinion by Calvin here as this portion was also added in 1559.

⁶³² *Inst.* 4:17:12, also from 1559.

⁶³³ Cf. three footnotes above.

⁶³⁴ Luther blamed the doctrine on Aquinas and Aristotle (J. F. McCue, 'The Doctrine of Transubstantiation from Berengar through Trent: The Point at Issue,' *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968): 395.

⁶³⁵ L. Hödl, 'Der Transsubstantiationsbegriff in der scholastischen Theologie des 12. Jahrhunderts,' *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 31 (1964): 235; H. Jorissen, *Die Entfaltung der Transsubstantiationslehre bis zum Beginn der Hochscholastik* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), 7; McCue, 'Doctrine of Transubstantiation,' 387.

usage: to assert that the bread and wine are replaced by the body and blood of Christ, rather than converted into them.⁶³⁶ The use of the word in today's sense is first found in the 1160s in scholastic writings.⁶³⁷ Calvin would not have known these facts and the relative accuracy of his statement is probably due to intuitive guesswork. Although the term *transsubstantiatio* first arose at that time, the idea behind it was found earlier, e.g., in the 'substantialiter converti' of the 1079 *Ego Berengarius*.⁶³⁸

Calvin referred to Bernard's age rather than to Bernard himself. He made no claim that Bernard stood out against the accepted teaching of his day, and what little Bernard stated on the subject confirms Calvin's prudence here.⁶³⁹ Calvin's account of Bernard's age is fairly accurate as regards the term *transsubstantiatio*,⁶⁴⁰ but not as regards the concept of the substantial conversion of the bread and wine into Christ's body and blood.

FIDELITY OF INTERPRETATION

Was Calvin a faithful interpreter of Bernard? This question can be answered at a number of different levels.

First, Calvin was, on the whole, faithful in his quotation of Bernard. His quotations were far from being verbally precise,⁶⁴¹ but this was normal at that time. His inaccuracies normally have no theological significance.⁶⁴² But this study has revealed a small number of instances where Calvin's departure from Bernard's original is theologically significant: an exaggerating para-

⁶³⁶ Hödl, 'Transsubstantiationsbegriff', 235–237; McCue, 'Doctrine of Transubstantiation', 394.

⁶³⁷ Hödl, 'Transsubstantiationsbegriff', 248–251.

⁶³⁸ Denz. 700; McCue, 'Doctrine of Transubstantiation', 386f.

⁶³⁹ Cf. R. J. Hesbert, 'Saint Bernard et l'Eucharistie' in *Mélanges Saint Bernard* (Dijon: Association des Amis de Saint Bernard, 1954), 156–176; W. Courtenay, 'Symbol and Causality in Bernard of Clairvaux' in *Bernard of Clairvaux*, 111–122; E. Choisy, *Paschase Radbert* (Geneva: M. Richter, 1888), 115–119, claims that Bernard stands in a tradition of opposition to corporeal feeding on Christ which runs from the fathers through Ratramnus and Berengar to Wyclif and the Reformers. Although some passages in Bernard seem to support such an interpretation, others clearly refute it.

⁶⁴⁰ According to the *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, cited in *Vita prima Bernardi* 7:6:8f., Bernard had trouble with a monk who doubted that the bread and the wine could 'transubstantiari . . . in verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi' (PL 185:419). He told the monk to go and communicate with *his* faith, as a result of which the monk came to a faith of his own in this matter. At least the use of the word *transubstantiari* is anachronistic. It was not seen as a touchstone of orthodoxy until later.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. chapter 2, pp. 21–23.

⁶⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 23–25.

phrase,⁶⁴³ a change of tense,⁶⁴⁴ the addition of an extra word (twice),⁶⁴⁵ and the omission of a word (four times).⁶⁴⁶ But if these are theologically significant it does not necessarily follow that they are theologically motivated. In four instances the inaccuracy originates not from Calvin but from the edition that he used.⁶⁴⁷ As Calvin frequently abbreviated when quoting⁶⁴⁸ it would be unfair to assume a conscious theological motive behind the omission of a single word when he was probably quoting from memory. Again, Calvin often changed tenses⁶⁴⁹ and it would be wrong to see undue significance in one solitary change which happens slightly to heighten Bernard's meaning. The exaggerating paraphrase heightens Bernard's statement but does not significantly alter his meaning. The remarkable fact is not that eight of Calvin's minor inaccuracies in quotation are of limited theological significance but that the number and their effect are so small. Calvin quoted large portions of Bernard in a consistently loose manner and yet only eight times did he gain any theological advantage from any of the changes and even then he did not significantly misrepresent Bernard.⁶⁵⁰ That Calvin was not seeking to doctor Bernard for his own advantage is shown by the way he leaves in some of his quotations teaching far removed from his own.⁶⁵¹ Calvin's theological modifications of Bernard do not significantly alter the portrait of Bernard that emerges: they no more than slightly heighten the impact of a few individual quotations.

Second, Calvin's interpretation of the passages that he quotes is normally fair. Once, in 1539, he grossly misrepresents Bernard,⁶⁵² but this is not in order to claim his support. Occasionally he quotes a passage slightly out of context, but not in such a way as to misrepresent Bernard's overall doctrinal position.⁶⁵³ The one serious example of quotation out of context concerns the *Sermones in Cantica*, from which Calvin quotes without reference to their monastic and mystical setting.⁶⁵⁴ This raises a big question about Calvin's inter-

⁶⁴³ C.XIVf.

⁶⁴⁴ C.XL.

⁶⁴⁵ Cc.Xa, XXII.

⁶⁴⁶ Cc.XIVh; XVIIIa; XIXa; XXXVIII.

⁶⁴⁷ Cc.Xa; XVIIIa; XIXa; XXII.

⁶⁴⁸ Cf. chapter 2, p. 24.

⁶⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁶⁵⁰ The most serious alterations occur in cc.XXXVIII; XL but neither of these amounts to a misrepresentation of Bernard's doctrinal position.

⁶⁵¹ Most notably in cc.XIVh; XVIc. Cf. ch. 3, p. 80.

⁶⁵² C.II.

⁶⁵³ Cc.XVIa; XXIX; XXXII; XXXVII.

⁶⁵⁴ Cc.XXXV; XL. Cf. ch. 3, p. 64.

pretation in two of his citations, but even this only partially weakens his presentation of Bernard's doctrine of justification. In the majority of instances Calvin's interpretation must be judged to be correct, in the sense that Bernard said substantially what Calvin claimed him to have said. This is not to deny that there are nuances of difference between Calvin and Bernard, nor to claim absolute accuracy for Calvin.

Third, Calvin's fidelity of interpretation hangs on more than the accurate interpretation of individual Bernardine passages. These need to be seen in the wider context of Bernard's total teaching. This affects the reliability of Calvin's interpretation. While Calvin accurately represents Bernard's position on the state of the clergy and the papacy,⁶⁵⁵ the picture that he presents is highly selective. If Bernard's theoretical teaching on the papacy and the clergy is set alongside his practical complaints, the resultant picture is substantially different. Calvin has followed the standard approach of the polemicist, namely to quote what suits him and to pass over what does not.⁶⁵⁶ This has serious consequences where the ministry is concerned. With the doctrines of sin, grace, predestination, and the state of the departed an examination of Bernard's wider teaching reveals differences between them, but Calvin could still claim Bernard's substantial support. Bernard supported Calvin's Augustinian stand against contemporary semi-Pelagianism and semi-Augustinianism. Bernard, like Calvin, believed in unconditional election. Bernard did not attribute to the faithful departed the degree of glory attributed to them by sixteenth-century Rome. It is true that there are differences between Calvin and Bernard concerning the nature of freewill, reprobation and the precise state of the departed. But these differences do not significantly modify the broad support that Calvin rightly claimed from Bernard. If total agreement were demanded before support could be claimed, no thinking person could ever claim the support of another. With the doctrine of justification Calvin could with justice appeal to one side of Bernard's teaching. But this remains only one side of his teaching and there is another side that is manifestly not in harmony with Calvin. Neither Calvin nor the Catholic opponents of justification by faith alone could claim Bernard's total support.

Fourth, if Calvin's interpretation of Bernard is substantially correct, does it follow that Bernard was a 'proto-Protestant'? No. While Bernard supported Calvin in his doctrines of sin, grace, and predestination against Pighius and his ilk, a sixteenth-century Roman Catholic Augustinian could have claimed as

⁶⁵⁵ Except for c.XVIg which misrepresents Bernard by suggesting that he opposed the doctrine that the pope has the right to both swords. Cf. chapter 3, p. 82.

⁶⁵⁶ But he does not totally filter Bernard (e.g., cc.XIVh; XVIc).

much, indeed more, support from Bernard.⁶⁵⁷ Although Bernard provided Calvin with useful ammunition against much Roman Catholic teaching on justification, the same ammunition could be used with equal relish by a Seripando. In each of these instances, Bernard supported Calvin against the teaching of some, but not all, Roman Catholics. The Council of Trent is patient of an Augustinian interpretation and the Augustinian doctrines of grace and predestination continued in the Roman Catholic Church after Trent, although they became increasingly muted as a result of the Baianist and Jansenist controversies. Trent chose against the more evangelical doctrines of justification advocated by some council fathers, but the evangelical elements of the medieval tradition, as found in Bernard among others, have more recently found an advocate in the person of Hans Küng, whose work in this area has met with wide approval in the Roman Catholic Church.⁶⁵⁸ Thus Bernard's support of Calvin against some Roman Catholics should not be taken to mean that Bernard falls outside the range of the Roman Catholic tradition. But this is not to say that Bernard is totally in harmony with Tridentine orthodoxy. On the question of the faithful departed, Bernard's position was rejected after his time and he can be seen as a witness against later Roman Catholicism. On the papacy, it can be debated which strand of early sixteenth-century Roman Catholicism Bernard most supports and whether he accords with the pronouncements of Trent, Vatican I, or Vatican II. But there can be no question of him supporting the Protestant position.

In Calvin's time the group most likely to find Bernard congenial comprised the reforming Catholic humanists, such as Seripando. Bernard offered them an Augustinian doctrine of grace, a doctrine of justification that included many evangelical elements of which they approved and an approach to the papacy that combined reform with loyalty. Where Calvin found Bernard congenial it was usually where his interests coincided with those of the Catholic humanists.

Calvin's interpretation of Bernard was primarily polemical. The selectivity of his portrait of Bernard can be defended on the grounds that the polemicist, like the advocate, has a case to present. But it would be wrong to leave the impression that Calvin was a ruthless polemicist culling from Bernard the most advantageous texts. A number of factors belie such an interpretation. In the first place, Calvin's use of Bernard was decidedly occasional. He did not quote him on every occasion when Bernard could have offered him sup-

⁶⁵⁷ More, because of freewill and reprobation.

⁶⁵⁸ H. Küng, *Justification*, where Bernard is cited some eight times.

port.⁶⁵⁹ This is not to be attributed to ignorance since he had read widely in Bernard and sometimes left unused passages in specific works that he knew.⁶⁶⁰ Furthermore, when he did cite Bernard he did not always cite the polemically most advantageous passage. Literary factors played at least some role in his selection of Bernardine quotations.⁶⁶¹ This factor emerges even more clearly in those passages that did not have a polemical aim, where Bernard is cited simply to illustrate a point.⁶⁶²

By today's criteria Calvin's interpretation of Bernard can be criticized as over-polemical and sometimes as one-sided. But by the standards of his own time Calvin was an extremely careful and accurate interpreter of Bernard. It cannot be claimed that no one in the sixteenth century appealed to Bernard with more justice, but it can be said that none of Calvin's contemporaries presented a more conscientious and more thorough interpretation of Bernard.

Postscript

Calvin's primary aim in citing Bernard was polemical. He was concerned to refute accusations of novelty and to establish a reputable pedigree for his doctrine. One of his quotations is followed by a significant claim: 'Brief, ceste est la doctrine perpetuelle qui a tousiours esté tenue en l'église Chrestienne sans aucune contradiction.'⁶⁶³ Calvin would have liked to have been able to claim this for all of his teaching. But such an approach is highly suspect today, irrespective of the accuracy with which it is pursued.

On the shelves of my theological college library there stood a book whose title was a gross and deliberate misapplication of some words of Scripture: *Whose are the Fathers?* (Rom. 9.5). I never got beyond the preface which claimed that the book would show how completely the Fathers supported the Anglican (as opposed to the Roman) position. Such a treatment of the Fathers is disastrous both for our reading of the past and for our living of the present.⁶⁶⁴

Between Calvin and today lies the rise of historical criticism, which has

⁶⁵⁹ This can easily be seen by an examination of the passages cited in favour of Calvin's interpretation in chapter 3, pp. 36–73.

⁶⁶⁰ A good example is *Ep* 107, from which Calvin could have derived much more support, as can be seen from the references to it in chapter 3, pp. 59–60, 66–68, 71–73. To some extent, Calvin's quotation of a specific portion can be seen as a reference to the wider context in which it occurs. This is explicit in cc.XVIc; XVIIIc; XIXc.

⁶⁶¹ C.XXIX could have been bettered, but was probably chosen for literary reasons.

⁶⁶² Cf. chapter 2, n. 184.

⁶⁶³ CO 7:126, following c.XVIII.

⁶⁶⁴ M. F. Wiles, *The Christian Fathers* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966), 179.

altered our approach to the Fathers in two major ways.⁶⁶⁵ First, diligent historical study of the early Church led, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the conclusion that patristic teaching is not wholly congenial to *any* contemporary theological tradition.⁶⁶⁶ Second, this awareness has led, since Newman, to interpretations of the history of theology in dynamic rather than static terms. A historical defence of fourth-century trinitarian orthodoxy today would seek to portray it as the legitimate outworking of the teaching of the ante-Nicene fathers rather than proclaim the Nicene orthodoxy of the latter, as Calvin sought to do. For the sixteenth-century theologian, while there was change in the sense of corruption or heresy and reform, orthodoxy itself did not change. This was true for Calvin, even though he showed exceptional historical awareness in his treatment of Scripture and the Fathers. Any teaching claiming to be new could not be true. Today there are many different theories explaining our relation to the past, utilizing concepts such as development, growth, contextualisation, et cetera, but all being essentially dynamic rather than static. Thus the battles in the sixteenth century over *semper eadem* and similar concepts appear to be hopelessly dated. As Wiles states, in a similar context:

It is like reading a debate about the movements of the planets before the invention of the telescope. The general problems with which they were concerned are real problems; but the particular problems to which they addressed themselves so vigorously are not ours; and, more emphatically still, the way in which they approached them is not and cannot be ours.⁶⁶⁷

But, as Wiles allows, the general problem is a real problem and is our problem, even for such a radical 'modernist' as him.

By what criteria are we to judge if we stand in a true succession to the church of earlier generations? . . . This problem has to be faced, even though it may need to be recognized in the end that it is incapable in principle of any clear cut line of solution.⁶⁶⁸

Although Calvin's particular approach cannot be ours, the question of the con-

⁶⁶⁵ A third contrast, that between the polemical use of the fathers and the attempt simply to understand them, is less than absolute. To suggest that contemporary historians are purely concerned to understand the past while the Reformers, for example, were purely concerned to claim its support would be to misrepresent both groups. The appeal to the past, condemned by Wiles in the passage just quoted, cannot be totally avoided by the contemporary theologian, as he himself acknowledges in the passage noted three footnotes below.

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. O. Chadwick, *From Bossuet to Newman* (Cambridge: CUP, 1957), 1-86.

⁶⁶⁷ M. F. Wiles, *The Making of Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge: CUP, 1967), 1f.

⁶⁶⁸ Idem, *Working Papers in Doctrine* (London: SCM, 1976), 105f.

tinuity between Reformed Christianity and the preceding 1500 years, the question of the historical pedigree of Protestantism remains. This question is most acute when it comes to the medieval period, which spans more than half the time since the coming of Christ. Calvin's interpretation of Bernard is not without its relevance today. If he did not succeed in making Bernard a 'proto-Protestant' he did succeed in showing that Reformed Protestantism has deep roots, in the medieval tradition. While Calvin was highly critical of much medieval theology, he could acknowledge the true gospel in the teaching of one of the greatest figures of the medieval church. Bernard serves to show that Protestantism was not a total rejection of half of Christian history but that it built upon some of the major elements of medieval Christianity.

IV

Influence of Bernard upon Calvin?

APPROACH

Did Bernard influence Calvin's theology? In many ways this is the most interesting question to be asked about the relationship between Calvin and Bernard. But it is also the hardest question to answer and it is vital to approach it in the right manner.

One approach to the question can be called *speculative*. This is Reuter's approach. In the second of his two books on the subject, he claims that Bernard was a major influence upon the 1536 *Institutio*. This claim has already been considered.⁶⁶⁹ In the earlier book, he argues for this influence from the time of the 1539 edition.⁶⁷⁰ He states that no one influenced Calvin more than Bernard, Duns Scotus, Bradwardine, and Gregory of Rimini, yet he maintains that Calvin was not himself aware of the significance of this influence.⁶⁷¹ Clearly there is a heavy burden of proof upon those who claim to know what influenced Calvin better than did Calvin himself. What proof is offered? Essentially Reuter builds his case upon a twofold foundation, as in the later book. First, he claims that Calvin was exposed to Bernard and to the *devotio moderna* tradition at Montaigu.⁶⁷² Second, he discerns many parallels between Calvin and Bernard.⁶⁷³ Both of these arguments have been considered already.⁶⁷⁴ Calvin certainly encountered the 'bernhardinisch-devote' tradition at Montaigu, but it does not follow from this that he had a significant en-

⁶⁶⁹ Reuter, *Vom Scholaren*. This is considered in chapter 2, pp. 8–15.

⁶⁷⁰ Reuter, *Grundverständnis*, 12f., 16f.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 34, 154.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, 13f., 16f., 31f., 34f.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 12–19, 50f., 83f., 96f., 139, 155, 179, 188–191.

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. 2, Cf. ch. 2, n. 674.

counter with Bernard's own writings while there. Again, there may be fascinating parallels between Calvin and Bernard, but more than the existence of parallels and the possibility of influence is needed to demonstrate *actual* influence. It is noteworthy that Reuter repeatedly refers to the influence upon Calvin of the 'bernhardinisch-devoten Frömmigkeit'.⁶⁷⁵ But he does not allow for the implications of this: that the parallels could indicate the influence upon Calvin of the broader *devotio moderna* tradition and not of Bernard in particular.⁶⁷⁶

The most serious weakness in Reuter's case in both books is his neglect of Calvin's explicit use of Bernard. In the earlier book he makes passing reference to two of Calvin's citations of Bernard,⁶⁷⁷ but otherwise ignores them. His work can therefore justly be called speculative. There *may* be truth in part or all of what he claims. By the nature of the case it would be very hard to disprove it. But he offers very little proof and his conclusions should not be taken seriously by historians.

Despite its weaknesses, the 'Reuter thesis' has been very influential. It was accepted by Snell, who furthered it by his own studies. He argues that Bernard was one of the most formative influences on Calvin's concept of righteousness.⁶⁷⁸ This conclusion is based not on a study of Calvin's use of Bernard but on an acceptance of the 'Reuter thesis' (which predisposes him to see Bernard as a source) and on certain alleged parallels between Calvin and Bernard.⁶⁷⁹ Stadtland makes similar claims for Bernard's influence on Calvin's doctrine of justification, but pays more attention to Calvin's use of Bernard. He briefly summarizes the content of a number of Calvin's citations and then discerns further parallels.⁶⁸⁰ He concludes that Bernard was 'Grundquelle des pneumatologisch gefassten, zentral tragenden unio-Gedankens bei Calvin'.⁶⁸¹ This claim is based solely on a (limited) acceptance of the 'Reuter thesis' and the parading of a number of Bernard citations and parallels.

The trouble with this speculative approach is that it could be used to prove that Calvin was influenced by almost anyone. What is needed is a method that builds not simply on the inspired (or otherwise) guesswork of scholars but

⁶⁷⁵ Reuter, *Grundverständnis*, 14, 17, 19, 37, 52, 84, 99–101, 116.

⁶⁷⁶ Some of the problems involved in the claim that A influenced B are set out by Quentin Skinner in 'The Limits of Historical Explanations,' *Philosophy* 41 (1966): 203–212, and more cautiously in his 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,' *History and Theory* 8 (1969): 25–27.

⁶⁷⁷ Reuter, *Grundverständnis*, 191, 195. On p.191 he inaccurately attributes c.IX to the 1559 *Institutio*.

⁶⁷⁸ Snell, *Place of Augustine*, 140–143, 203f., 220.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 159–162

⁶⁸⁰ Stadtland, *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung*, 46f.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 48. In the original the entire quotation is italicized.

on objective evidence. The most solid evidence available is Calvin's own use of Bernard. The present study seeks to build on that evidence. Calvin's Bernardine citations will be examined, by groups according to date and subject matter, for evidence of possible Bernardine influence upon Calvin. It is not, of course, being claimed that Bernard's influence goes no further than Calvin's explicit citations.⁶⁸² But the explicit citations are a guide as to the type of influence and, furthermore, caution must be exercised in claiming specific points of influence beyond Calvin's citations. Wild speculation is of little value.

1539–1547

The early citations on sin and grace⁶⁸³ show little evidence of influence. The first two are disapproving. Twice Bernard appears in a list of authorities supporting a position that Calvin had taken earlier.⁶⁸⁴ But there are other instances where Bernard might have influenced Calvin. Bernard is introduced at a crucial point in the 1539 *Institutio* where Calvin argues that his doctrine of the bondage of the will does not imply the destruction of the will. In order to rescue himself from this possible implication Calvin appeals to the Bernardine distinction between the will *simpliciter*, the evil will and the good will. This is the basis for Calvin's distinction between necessity and coercion.⁶⁸⁵ Further evidence of possible Bernardine influence follows immediately afterwards. Calvin supports the distinction between necessity and coercion by appealing to the examples of God and Satan who are good/evil necessarily but willingly. The same illustration is used again in 1543 where Calvin cites both Augustine and Bernard for support.⁶⁸⁶ It appears again in the 1559 *Institutio* where it is immediately followed by a Bernardine citation.⁶⁸⁷ But while the illustration is found in Bernard, it also appears in Augustine's *De natura et gratia*, which Calvin cites *and names* immediately after his first use of the illustration, although Augustine referred only to God and not to Satan.⁶⁸⁸ The dis-

⁶⁸² Izard, 'Jean Calvin,' 21, 40, rightly observes that 'l'influence de Bernard va très probablement au delà de ce que nous pouvons conclure des seules citations explicites.' Tamburello's study reveals many 'clear parallels' between Bernard's and Calvin's theologies. But where Calvin does not explicitly refer to Bernard he opposes describing the parallels as 'examples of Bernard's influence on Calvin.' In some instances they may be, but this is impossible to prove (*Union with Christ*, 108).

⁶⁸³ Cc.I–III; V–VIII.

⁶⁸⁴ Cc.V; VII, defending the 1539 *Institutio*.

⁶⁸⁵ C.III, in *Inst.* 2:3:5.

⁶⁸⁶ C.VI.

⁶⁸⁷ *Inst.* 2:5:1, followed by c.XXX.

⁶⁸⁸ *Gra* 4:9, 10:35 (*Gra* is not named in c.III, nor in any other citation); *De natura et gratia* 46:54. The latter work is also cited and named in *Inst.* 2:2:11 (1539). Bernard developed

inction between the will *simpliciter* and the good/evil will is essential to Calvin's distinction between necessity and coercion and is used in the 1539 *Institutio* as the foundation on which the latter distinction is first built. The illustration of God and the devil is immediately introduced to support the distinction. Bernardine material is here used twice at a crucial stage in the development of Calvin's argument. But the crucial point is neither of the Bernardine elements but rather the distinction between coercion and necessity. This is not found in Bernard and Calvin was indebted for it elsewhere.⁶⁸⁹ The crucial influence at this point is the necessity/coercion distinction, not the Bernardine elements. Furthermore, it is not certain that the Bernardine citation came from direct reading of Bernard as opposed to an intermediate source such as another author or the *Flores*.⁶⁹⁰ While this does not minify the element of Bernardine influence via the citation itself, it does weaken the case for any wider influence on Calvin by Bernard at this stage.

In 1543 Bernard is again quoted at a crucial stage in Calvin's argument. Calvin was defending himself against Pighius' charge that he taught the destruction of the will in conversion. In clarifying his position, Calvin again used the Bernardine distinction between the will itself and a good/evil will.⁶⁹¹ Although Bernard again appears at a crucial stage in Calvin's argument, the basic point had already been made in the 1539 *Institutio*, with reference to Augustine, not Bernard.⁶⁹²

Bernard appears at two crucial stages in Calvin's argument. But in neither instance is there any evidence that Bernard himself provided the crucial material. His distinction between the will and the good/evil will was used at both stages by Calvin to support his position. While it was a significant part of Calvin's defence it cannot be said, in either instance, to have led Calvin to the position being defended. The illustration of God and Satan was another supporting element, but it is not even certain whether Bernard was Calvin's initial source for it. Bernard probably provided Calvin with significant material for his early teaching on sin and grace, but there is no evidence that he significantly influenced Calvin's basic stance.

Calvin cited Bernard as a witness against clerical and papal corruption.⁶⁹³ Clearly he did not need to read Bernard in order to discover that the Roman

Augustine's idea and applied it more widely to Satan and to the good and evil angels. In 1543 Calvin knew the illustration to be Bernardine as well as Augustinian (c.VI) but by then he had read more widely in Bernard (cf. chapter 2, pp. 15-17).

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. chapter 3, p. 43.

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. chapter 2, p. 9.

⁶⁹¹ C.VIII. The distinction is used w.r.t. the good will here, w.r.t. the evil will in c.III.

⁶⁹² Lane, 'Did Calvin Believe in Freewill?', 81-83.

⁶⁹³ Cc.IV; XIII-XVI; XXIII.

church was corrupt. There is no evidence here for Bernardine influence upon Calvin. But it is possible, as the late Professor Wendel has suggested,⁶⁹⁴ that it was this side of Bernard that initially attracted Calvin and thus led him to a more positive appreciation of Bernard.

Calvin quoted Bernard extensively in the 1543 *Institutio* on justification and these quotations were taken up in the polemical works of the immediately following period.⁶⁹⁵ In 1539 Calvin discussed how hope and fear relate to faith. In 1543 he added a lengthy Bernardine quotation which made the point that in ourselves we are nothing while in the Father's heart we are exalted. This is simply a fuller development of a point already made in 1539: 'Proinde nihil obstat quin simul et terreantur fideles, et securissima consolatione potiantur: prout nunc in suam vanitatem oculos convertunt, nunc in Dei veritatem animi cogitationem referunt.'⁶⁹⁶

In 1539 Calvin argued at length against the concept of justification by works, citing Scripture. In 1543 he added quotations from Augustine and Bernard, noting that 'nec in sacris modo literis extant talia exempla: sed omnes pii scriptores hunc sibi sensum fuisse demonstrant.'⁶⁹⁷ In fact, the Bernardine quotations stress positive security in the wounds of Christ and the compassions and mercies of the Lord, while the 1539 text concentrated on the negative aspect of the folly of self-righteousness. Although addition of Bernardine material adds a new dimension to this particular section, it does not add any fresh ideas not found elsewhere in the 1539 *Institutio*. The same material is used by Calvin soon afterwards to oppose a Sorbonne article teaching justification by works⁶⁹⁸ and to oppose a Tridentine canon against certainty of salvation.⁶⁹⁹ In both instances Bernard is cited, together with Scripture, in opposition to Roman teaching that Calvin had long since opposed.

In 1543 Augustinian and Bernardine quotations were added to a 1539 text which stressed that we should place all our trust in God's mercy, not in our own righteousness. These citations were added with the avowed intent of supporting what was already there: 'Sic et Augustinus . . . Bernardus quoque.'⁷⁰⁰ The Bernardine quotation adds the element of the witness of the Spirit to our election, but this idea was already found in the 1539 *Institutio*.⁷⁰¹ The same passage is quoted in 1547 in opposition to Tridentine teaching against cer-

⁶⁹⁴ In a private conversation in 1971.

⁶⁹⁵ Cc.IX-XII; XVII; XXI; XXII.

⁶⁹⁶ *Inst.* 3:2:23 (OS 4:33) which is developed in c.IX.

⁶⁹⁷ *Inst.* 3:12:3 (OS 4:210) introducing c.X.

⁶⁹⁸ C.XVII.

⁶⁹⁹ C.XXII.

⁷⁰⁰ *Inst.* 3:13:4 (OS 4:218f.) introducing c.XI.

⁷⁰¹ *Inst.* 3:24:1.

tainty of salvation, along with Scripture.⁷⁰² There is no evidence here of Bernard introducing Calvin to new ideas.

Finally, Bernard is quoted in opposition to Roman teaching on merit, in support of a position set out in 1539.⁷⁰³ The Bernardine quotation simply illustrates the earlier position, which is essentially negative opposition to Roman teaching rather than positive teaching of Calvin's.

In all of the lengthy Bernardine quotations of 1543, on justification and on the clergy and papacy, there is no indication of influence on Calvin's theology. All the indications are that Calvin's reading of Bernard at Strassburg provided him with useful material with which to supplement and enrich the *Institutio* in 1543, but did not lead him substantially to modify or to develop his theology.

The two Bernardine citations in the anti-Anabaptist works are later additions to an already existing dossier of patristic citations.⁷⁰⁴ They do not make any significant new point. They seem to have been added as a result of Calvin's new reading in Bernard, but not in order to modify or to develop the teaching contained in the dossier.

1546–1559

Bernard is cited four times in Calvin's exegetical works. Twice Calvin comments on Bernard and the Roman Catholic attitude toward him.⁷⁰⁵ Twice he cites Bernard to illustrate a particular point.⁷⁰⁶ This is evidence of Calvin's renewed reading of Bernard following his acquisition of the 1552 *Opera omnia* rather than of any significant influence of Bernard on Calvin. Calvin's exegesis displays no evidence of having been influenced by Bernard's allegorical approach, except perhaps negatively.

The 1559 *Institutio* contains a number of new citations on the question of sin and grace.⁷⁰⁷ Bernard is quoted to the effect that humanity is under a voluntary necessity to sin and under a voluntary servitude.⁷⁰⁸ The former point is already made in the 1539 passage to which the quotation is added and the latter is found in an earlier commentary.⁷⁰⁹ A quotation is added to an earlier Augustinian citation, 'cui consentit Bernardus,' but it adds nothing of sub-

⁷⁰² C.XXI.

⁷⁰³ C.XII is added to *Inst.* 3:15:1f.

⁷⁰⁴ Cc.XVIII; XIX. Cf. chapter 2, p. xx.

⁷⁰⁵ Cc.XX; XXV.

⁷⁰⁶ Cc.XXIV; XXVI.

⁷⁰⁷ Cc.XXVII–XXXI. The first of these is purely illustrative.

⁷⁰⁸ Cc.XXVIII; XXX.

⁷⁰⁹ The former point in *Inst.* 2:3:5; the latter in *Comm.* John 8.34 (1553).

stance.⁷¹⁰ Finally, a Bernardine citation is included (under the name of Augustine) with citations of Augustine which are added to support the 1539 argument.⁷¹¹ The Bernardine citation contains nothing not found in the Augustinian citations.

In the 1559 *Institutio* Bernard is cited six times on the doctrine of justification.⁷¹² One of the citations illustrates the teaching of the 1539 edition.⁷¹³ Another is added to an Augustinian citation from 1543, 'cui respondent praeclarae Bernardi sententiae.'⁷¹⁴ Bernard mainly confirms the teaching of Augustine and anything that he adds to it is not new to Calvin. Another citation comes in a portion of text new in 1559, but its function is purely illustrative.⁷¹⁵ Another is an extension of an earlier Bernardine citation.⁷¹⁶ It adds a new element of opposition to merits, the substance of which is already found in a similar earlier citation.⁷¹⁷ Another citation is added as a confirmation of the 1539 text.⁷¹⁸ It introduces new ideas over and above the issue being discussed, which is the relation between faith and love. Calvin recognized this and commented that 'haec et alia suis locis tractanda erunt.'⁷¹⁹ These new ideas are new to that passage, but not new to Calvin.

The final citation is the most significant. It comes in a 1559 section which has been added to the 1543 text and which significantly qualifies it.⁷²⁰ In 1543 Calvin emphasized the need to be severe with ourselves and to acknowledge our sins. In 1559 this is given a pastoral qualification in that our grief for sin should not be perpetual or excessive. This qualification concludes with a lengthy quotation from Bernard. It is significant that while only the last part of the qualification is explicitly Bernardine, the whole qualification relates closely to the Bernardine passage quoted. Furthermore, Calvin warns especially against the danger of excessive sorrow leading to despair and this is the major feature of the passage from which he quotes.⁷²¹ It is quite possible that the entire qualification is due to Calvin's reading of this particular sermon of Bernard.

Calvin cites Bernard three times in the 1559 *Institutio* on the theme of pre-

⁷¹⁰ C.XXIX.

⁷¹¹ C.XXXI.

⁷¹² Cc.XXXII–XXXVII. C.XL, to be discussed shortly, is also relevant.

⁷¹³ C.XXXVII.

⁷¹⁴ C.XXV.

⁷¹⁵ C.XXXII.

⁷¹⁶ C.XXXVI, extending c.X.

⁷¹⁷ C.XII.

⁷¹⁸ C.XXXIII.

⁷¹⁹ *Inst.* 3:2:41 (OS 4:52).

⁷²⁰ C.XXXIV.

⁷²¹ SC 11:2. Cf. SC 6:8f.

destination.⁷²² One of these citations, concluding a portion of text new in 1559, is primarily illustrative.⁷²³ Another, in a long section added in 1559, is also primarily illustrative, while the main point that it makes is that election is unconditional.⁷²⁴ This belief was hardly new to Calvin in 1559. The final citation is added to a section that is predominantly from 1539.⁷²⁵ It can be seen as primarily illustrative and does not introduce any ideas new to Calvin.

The one citation on the Eucharist relates to Bernard's age, not to Bernard himself, and does not indicate any Bernardine influence upon Calvin.⁷²⁶

CONCLUSION

It is possible that Bernard contributed substantially to Calvin's formulation of the doctrine of the bondage of the will in the 1539 *Institutio*. He possibly provided Calvin with a crucial distinction (between will and good/evil will) and with a useful illustration (God and Satan) both drawn from the *De gratia et libero arbitrio*. But the central point, the distinction between necessity and coercion, was not drawn from Bernard. Furthermore, it is not certain that the illustration came to Calvin via Bernard and he may have known of the distinction independently of Bernard's use of it.

This should not be taken to substantiate Reuter's claim that Bernard influenced the 1539 *Institutio* especially. He claims that this edition was 'in stärkster literarischer Abhängigkeit . . . von *Bernhard*,'⁷²⁷ while the above examination has revealed only a minor influence. He claims that Calvin was influenced by the Bernard of the 'bernhardinisch-devoten Frömmigkeit,'⁷²⁸ but the above examination reveals only a possible modest influence by the Bernard of the treatise, a rather different Bernard. He appeals to parallels between Calvin and Bernard, and attributes to Bernard a major shift between the 1536 and 1539 editions of the *Institutio*.⁷²⁹ But he gives no good reason for attributing this to Bernard in particular rather than to some other source. The extent of Calvin's verifiable knowledge of Bernard at that time and Bernard's demonstrable influence on Calvin does not support his theory. A Calvin as influenced by Bernard as Reuter suggests would not have misinterpreted him

⁷²² Cc.XXVIII–XL.

⁷²³ C.XXXVIII.

⁷²⁴ C.XXXIX.

⁷²⁵ C.XL.

⁷²⁶ C.XLI.

⁷²⁷ Reuter, *Grundverständnis*, 12 (Reuter's emphasis).

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, 14, 17, 19, 37, 52, 84, 99–101, 116.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, 9–18, especially 16f.

so blatantly and unsympathetically as did Calvin in this edition.⁷³⁰ The present study offers no encouragement for the 'Reuter thesis.'

After the 1539 *Institutio* there is only one instance where there is proof that Bernard substantially influences Calvin's stance.⁷³¹ This might seem to point to the odd conclusion that Bernard influenced Calvin the most in 1539, before Calvin had begun to read him seriously. But this appearance is deceptive. Calvin's theology was at a very formative stage in 1539 and it is not surprising that even a very modest Bernardine influence should have left its imprint upon Calvin's theological expression. Thereafter Calvin tended to read Bernard after he had already formulated his position. He read widely in Bernard at Strassburg and after 1552 and he appreciated what he read, increasingly as the years went by.⁷³² It is certain that this reading must have influenced Calvin. But it came relatively late and a study of his citations does not encourage the view that it was a formative influence. That is, one cannot point to specific elements of Calvin's theology and identify them as Bernardine.⁷³³ Bernard's role was to help Calvin to express his theology more forcefully and more elegantly rather than to influence him in the initial formulation of his theology.

Bernard's influence on Calvin may perhaps be compared to that of a mountain stream upon the large river into which it flows. It enters the river and enriches it, but it would be a bold person who imagined that they could point to the specific influences of the stream a mile further down the river. Bernard was one of the many influences upon Calvin, but not a major influence. He enriched Calvin's theology, especially in his expression of it, but there is little in his theology that one can call specifically Bernardine. Apart from Calvin's citations of him, Bernard undoubtedly made a wider contribution to Calvin's theology, but it is not a contribution that can now be disentangled and analyzed.

⁷³⁰ In c.II.

⁷³¹ C.XXXIV.

⁷³² Cf. chapter 2, pp. 28-29.

⁷³³ Cf. Bell's comments on the influence of Bernard upon Luther: 'Inwieweit ist Luthers Gedankenwelt von Bernhard von Clairvaux direkt oder indirekt beeinflusst? Anhand des dargebotenen Materials ist es schwierig, das genau festzustellen.' He goes on to speak of Luther's 'Kongentialität mit dem heilshistorischen antispekulativen Denken Bernhards' (*Divus Bernhardus*, 369).

Appendix I

Calvin's Bernardine Citations

Citation Number	Calvin Reference	OS	CO ⁷³⁴	Bernard Source ⁷³⁵	BO	PL	Type ⁷³⁶	Topic ⁷³⁷
1539: <i>Institutio</i>								
C.I	2:2:4	3:246	1:318	<i>Gra</i> 2:4	3:169	182:1004	q	a
C.IIa	2:2:6	3:248	1:319	<i>Gra</i> ⁷³⁸			s	a
C.IIb	..	..	..				c	a
C.III	2:3:5	3:277	1:339	<i>Gra</i> ⁷³⁹			s/c	a
1539: <i>Responsio ad Sadoletum</i>								
C.IV		1:476	5:403	<i>Csi</i> ⁷⁴⁰			s/c	e

⁷³⁴ For the 1539 and 1543 *Institutio*, references are to the original edition in CO 1, not to the 1559 edition in CO 2.

⁷³⁵ This is given only where it can be ascertained with reasonable certainty, not where it is merely one possible source among others. OS footnotes have been used to trace sources, but they contain many minor inaccuracies and the conclusions reached here are sometimes substantially different.

⁷³⁶ q = quotation (accurate or loose); p = paraphrase of a longer passage; s = summary of Bernard's teaching, not of any particular passage; c = comment on Bernard; s/c, etc. = combination of more than one type.

⁷³⁷ a = sin and grace; b = justification; c = predestination; d = state of the departed; e = clergy and papacy; f = transubstantiation.

⁷³⁸ This does not refer to any one passage in *Gra*, *pace* OS. Cf. chapter 2, p. 8 and chapter 3, p. 37, for possible sources.

⁷³⁹ This is based not on one single passage (*pace* OS) but on ideas found through much of *Gra*, especially 6:16, 18–20, 8:24–26. Similar ideas are found in Bernard's *Sententiae* 3:21, 60 (BO 6/2:78, 98) but Calvin would not have been thinking of this.

⁷⁴⁰ There are a number of works attacking papal and clerical corruption, two of which are cited by OS. In the light of the reference to Eugenius and Calvin's later usage it is likely that he had *Csi* in mind.

Citation Number	Calvin Reference	OS	CO	Bernard Source	BO	PL	Type	Topic
1543: <i>Defensio doctrinae de servitute arbitrii</i>								
C.V	Lib. 2		6:291				s/c	a
C.VI	Lib. 4		6:333	<i>Gra</i> ⁷⁴¹			s	a
C.VII	Lib. 4		6:334f.	<i>Gra</i> ⁷⁴²			s	a
C.VIII	Lib. 6		6:378	<i>Gra</i> ⁷⁴³			s	a
1543: <i>Institutio</i>								
C.IXa	3:2:25	4:35f.	1:463f.	<i>Ded</i> 5:3f.	5:390f.	183:531	q	b
C.IXb	..	4:36	1:464	<i>Ded</i> 5:5	5:391	183:532	q	b
C.IXc	..	..	..	<i>Ded</i> 5:7f.	5:394	183:533f.	q	b
C.Xa	3:12:3	4:210	1:748	<i>SC</i> 61:3	2:150	183:1072	q	b
C.Xb	..	..	..	<i>SC</i> 61:5	2:151	183:1073	q	b
C.Xc	..	..	..	<i>QH</i> 15:5	4:479	183:246	q	b
C.XI	3:13:4	4:219	1:754	<i>Ded</i> 5:6f.	5:393	183:533	q	b
C.XIIa	3:15:2	4:241	1:770	<i>SC</i> 68:6	2:200	183:1111	q	b
C.XIIb	..	..	..	<i>SC</i> 68:6	..	..	c+q	b
C.XIIc	..	..	..	<i>SC</i> 68:6	..	..	c+q	b
C.XIII	4:5:12	5:84	1:590	<i>Csi</i> ⁷⁴⁴			s/c	e
C.XIVa	4:7:18	5:121	1:619	<i>Csi</i>			s/c	e
C.XIVb	..	..	..	<i>Csi</i> 1:4:5	3:398	182:732	q	e
C.XIVc	..	..	..	<i>Csi</i> 1:10:13	3:408f.	182:740f.	p	e
C.XIVd	..	..	..	<i>Csi</i> 4:2:4	3:451	182:774	q	e
C.XIVe	..	..	..	<i>Csi</i> 4:2:5	3:452	182:775	q	e
C.XIVf	..	..	..	<i>Csi</i> 4:4:11	3:457	182:780	p	e
C.XIVg	..	..	..	<i>Csi</i> 3:2:6-12	3:435ff.	182:761ff.	s/c	e
C.XIVh	..	5:121f.	1:619f.	3:4:14	3:442	182:766	q	e
C.XIVi	..	5:122	1:620				c	e

⁷⁴¹ Calvin's point is found in *Gra* 4:9, 10:35. In the 1539 *Institutio* c.III is immediately followed and in the 1559 *Institutio* c.XXX is immediately preceded by the point here discussed, but with no reference to Bernard.

⁷⁴² *SC* 81 and 82 come the closest to Calvin's point (the necessity of sin) and the former sermon is quoted in 1559 (cc.XXVIII; XXX). In *Gra* Bernard denies that humanity is under necessity (2:5, 3:7, etc.), but Calvin is probably thinking of Bernard's teaching that fallen humanity has lost freedom from sin (3:7, 4:10, etc.). Cf. chapter 3, pp. 36-43.

⁷⁴³ For the source, cf. on c.III, of which this is a repeat.

⁷⁴⁴ *OS* cites *Mor* as the source. But as Calvin never refers to *Mor* and quotes widely in this edition from *Csi*, which is an adequate source for this brief allusion to Bernard's criticism of the clergy, the latter is the likely source (especially 1:10:13, 3:1:5, 3:2:6-12, 3:3:13, 3:4:14, 16, 3:5:19f., 4:2:2-5, 4:5:13, 15, 4:6:20).

Citation Number	Calvin Reference	OS	CO	Bernard Source	BO	PL	Type	Topic
C.XVa	4:7:22	5:125	1:622	Csi ⁷⁴⁵			s/c	e
C.XVb	..	5:126	1:622f.	Csi ⁷⁴⁶			s/c	e
C.XVIa ⁷⁴⁷	4:11:11	5:206	1:654	Csi 2:6:10	3:418	182:748	q	e
C.XVIb	..	..	..	Csi 1:6:7	3:402	182:736	q	e
C.XVIc	..	5:206f.	..	Csi 1:6:7	..	..	q	e
C.XVId	..	5:207	..	Csi 2:6:9	3:416f.	182:747	q	e
C.XVIe	..	..	..	Csi 2:6:10f.	3:418	182:748	q	e
C.XVIf	..	..	..	Csi 2:6:11	..	..	q	e
C.XVIg	..	..	..				c	e

1544: *Articuli facultatis parisiensis cum antidoto*

C.XVII	Art. 4		7:13	SC 61:5	2:151	183:1073	q	b
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1544: *Instruction contre les anabaptistes*

C.XVIIIa			7:126	OS 2:8	5:348	183:468	q	d
C.XVIIIb			..	OS 3:1	5:349	..	q	d
C.XVIIIc			..	OS 2 & 3			c	d

1545: *Psychopannychia*

C.XIXa			5:215	OS 2:8 & 3:1	5:348f.	183:468	p ⁷⁴⁸	d
C.XIXb			..	OS 3:1	5:349f.	183:469	q	d
C.XIXc			..	OS 2 & 3			s	d
C.XIXd			..				c	d

1546: *Commentarii in priorem epistolam ad Corinthios*

C.XX	3:15		49:357				c	
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1547: *Acta synodi tridentinae cum antidoto*

C.XXI	Sess. 6		7:457	Ded.5:7	5:393	183:533	q	b
C.XXII	Sess. 6		7:479	SC 61:3	2:150	183:1072	q	b
C.XXIII	Sess. 7		7:506	Csi 3:4:14	3:442	182:766	p	e

⁷⁴⁵ These general references to Bernard's criticisms of the papacy are clearly based on Csi, especially on the passages quoted in cc.XIV; XVI.

⁷⁴⁶ Cf. previous footnote.

⁷⁴⁷ J. Raitt, 'Calvin's Use,' 101, n. 31, accuses me of failing to note that the first part of c.XVI (i.e., c.XVIa and b) dates from 1559 and not from 1543. In fact, CO, OS, and the 1543 original (p. 226) all show that c.XVI in its entirety dates from 1543

⁷⁴⁸ C.XIXa is a paraphrase of c.XVIIIa and b.

Citation Number	Calvin Reference	OS	CO	Bernard Source	BO	PL	Type	Topic
1554: <i>Commentarius in Genesim</i>								
C.XXIV	3:6		23:63	<i>Ep</i> 1:3 ⁷⁴⁹	7:4	182:72	p	a
1556 ⁷⁵⁰ : <i>Sermons sur le Deuteronomie</i>								
C.XXV	Serm. 182		28:713				c	
1557: <i>Commentarius in librum Psalmorum</i>								
C.XXVI	55:13-15		31:540	<i>VI p P</i> 2:5 ⁷⁵¹	5:212	183:343	q	
1559: <i>Institutio</i>								
C.XXVII	2:1:4	3:232	2:179	<i>SC</i> 28:5	1:195	183:923	p	
C.XXVIIIa	2:3:5	3:278	2:214	<i>SC</i> 81:7	2:288	183:1174	q	a
C.XXVIIIb	..	..	..	<i>SC</i> 81:7	..	..	q	a
C.XXVIIIc	..	..	..	<i>SC</i> 81:7	..	..	q	a
C.XXVIId	..	..	..	<i>SC</i> 81:9	2:289	183:1175	q	a
C.XXVIIle	..	..	2:214f.				c	a
C.XXIX	2:3:12	3:288	2:222	<i>SC</i> 21:9	1:127	183:876	q	a
C.XXX	2:5:1	3:298	2:230	<i>SC</i> 81:7	2:288	183:1174	p	a
C.XXXI ⁷⁵²	2:5:14	3:315	2:243	<i>Gra</i>			s	a
C.XXXII	2:16:1	3:482f.	2:368	<i>SC</i> 15:6	1:86	183:846f.	p	b
C.XXXIIIa	3:2:41	4:52	2:432	<i>Ann</i> 1:1	5:13	183:383	q	b
C.XXXIIIb	..	..	..	<i>Ann</i> 1:3	5:14f.	183:383f.	p	b
C.XXXIV	3:3:15	4:72	2:446	<i>SC</i> 11:2	1:55f.	183:824f.	q	b
C.XXXVa	3:11:22	4:206	2:551	<i>SC</i> 23:15	1:149	183:892	q	b
C.XXXVb	..	..	2:551f.	<i>SC</i> 22:6 & 22:11	1:132f., 137	183:880, 884	p	b
C.XXXVIa	3:12:3	4:210	2:555	<i>SC</i> 13:4	1:71	183:836	q	b
C.XXXVIb	..	4:210f.	..	<i>SC</i> 68:6	2:200	183:1111	q	b
C.XXXVIc	..	4:211	2:555f.	<i>SC</i> 68:6	..	..	q	b

⁷⁴⁹ This passage comes close to Calvin. *Gra* 8:25 and *Ann* 1:1 are also similar, but not as close.

⁷⁵⁰ Sermon 182 was preached on 3 June 1556 (CO 28:708) but not published until 1567. As it was not published until after Calvin's death and not by Calvin, it has been dated by its original delivery and not, as with all the other works, by its publication.

⁷⁵¹ Mabillon and Migne number this sermon as *VI p P* 3, but their *VI p P* 2 is not found in the best MSS and is probably inauthentic (BO 5:VII).

⁷⁵² This is the one instance where a passage has been allowed as a Bernardine citation although Bernard himself is not named. This is because the ascription to Augustine is incorrect and the passage is a repeat of cc.III; VIII. For its source, cf. on c.III.

Citation Number	Calvin Reference	OS	CO	Bernard Source	BO	PL	Type	Topic
C:XXXVII	3:12:8	4:215	2:559	SC 13:5	1:71f.	183:836	p	b
C:XXXVIII	3:21:1	4:370	2:679f.	SC 78:4	2:269	183:1161	q	c
C:XXXIXa	3:22:10	4:392	2:697	<i>Ep</i> 107:4	7:270	182:244	q	c
C:XXXIXb	..	..	..	<i>Ep</i> 107:5	7:270f.	182:245	q	c
C:XXXIXc	..	..	..				c	c
C:XLa	3:24:4	4:415	2:715	SC 23:15	1:148f.	183:892	q	b/c
C:XLb	..	..	..	SC 23:16	1:149	183:893	q	b/c
C:XLI	4:17:15	5:360	2:1014				s	f

Appendix II

Text of Calvin's Bernardine Citations

The source of each citation in Calvin's works and, where relevant, its Bernardine source will be found in Appendix I. The text of each citation has been checked against the sixteenth-century edition in which it first appeared.⁷⁵³

C.I

Obscurius Bernardus, dum vult argute loqui, qui ait esse consensum, ob voluntatis inamissibilem libertatem, et rationis indeclinabile iudicium.

C.II

- a* sicut Bernardus bonam quidem voluntatem opus Dei⁷⁵⁴ esse asserens, homini tamen hoc concedit, ut motu proprio bonam eiusmodi voluntatem appetat.
- b* Sed istud ab Augustini mente procul abest, a quo tamen sumpsisse partitionem videri vult Lombardus [De libero arbitrio].

C.III

Neque vero inepte Bernardus, qui velle nobis omnibus inesse docet: sed velle bonum, profectus: velle malum, defectus. Ideo simpliciter velle, hominis: male velle, corruptae naturae: bene velle, gratiae.

C.IV

Bernardus quanta vehementia in Eugenium omnesque suae aetatis episcopos fulminat? At quanto saeculi illius conditio hac praesenti tolerabilior?

⁷⁵³ Differences in spelling and punctuation have not been noted.

⁷⁵⁴ 'opus Dei' is the 1559 reading. OS fails to note that all earlier editions read 'Dei opus.'

C.V

Nec vero Bernardum proferre alibi dubitat: cuius arbitrio si definienda esset controversia, si non prorsus totum obtinerem, longo tamen intervallo essem superior.

C.VI

Neque id est nostrum commentum. Sic ante nos Augustinus, sic Bernardus loquuti sunt.

C.VII

Nunc vero post eius lapsum, necessitatis iugum, a quo alias soluti essemus atque immunes, nobis impositum, ipse, et Prosper, et Bernardus, uno ore tradunt.

C.VIII

Nam quantum ad praesentem quaestionem, Bernardum sequutus tria considerata proposueram: velle per se, aut simpliciter; deinde male et bene velle.

C.IX

a Nec aliter disserit Bernardus, quum hoc argumentum ex professo tractat, Homilia in dedicatione templi quinta. Dei (inquam) beneficio nonnunquam de anima cogitans, videor mihi in ea veluti duo quaedam contraria invenire; si ipsam, prout in se est et ex se, intueor: de ea nihil verius dicere possum, quam ad nihilum esse redactam. Quid modo necesse est singulas eius miseriae numerare, quam sit onerata peccatis, offusa tenebris, irretita illecebris, pruriens concupiscentiis, obnoxia passionibus, impleta illusionibus, prona semper ad malum, in vitium omne proclivis, postremo ignominiae et confusionis plena? Nimirum si ipsae quoque iustitiae omnes ad lumen veritatis inspectae, velut pannus menstruatae inveniuntur, iniustitiae deinceps quales reputabuntur [Iesa. 64. c. 6]? Si lumen quod in nobis est, tenebrae sunt, ipsae tenebrae quantae erunt [Matth. 6. c. 23]? Quid igitur? sine dubio vanitati similis factus est homo: in nihilum redactus est homo: nihil est homo. Quomodo tamen penitus nihil est quem magnificat Deus? Quomodo nihil, erga quem appositum est cor divinum? Respiremus fratres. Etsi nihil sumus in cordibus nostris, forte in corde Dei potest aliquid latere de nobis. O Pater misericordiarum, o Pater miserorum, quomodo apponis erga nos cor tuum? Cor enim tuum ubi est the-

saurus tuus. Quomodo autem thesaurus tuus sumus, si nihil sumus? Omnes gentes quasi non sint, sic sunt ante te: in nihilum reputabuntur. Nimirum ante te: non intra te: sic in iudicio veritatis tuae, sed non sic in affectu pietatis tuae. Nimirum vocas ea quae non sunt, tanquam sint; et non sunt ergo, quia quae non sunt, vocas: et sunt, quia vocas. Licet enim non sint, quantum ad se: apud te tamen sunt, iuxta illud Pauli, Non ex operibus iustitiae, sed ex vocante [Rom. 9. c. 12].

- b* Deinde mirificam esse hanc connexionem dicit utriusque considerationis. Certe quae inter se connexa sunt, se invicem non destruunt.
- c* Quod etiam in conclusione apertius declarat his verbis, Iam si utraque consideratione diligenter inspexerimus nos quid sumus: imo in una quam nihil, in altera quam magnificati: puto temperata videtur gloriatio nostra: sed forsitan magis aucta est solidata quidem^a, ut non in nobis sed in Domino gloriemur. Nimirum si cogitamus, si decreverit salvare nos, statim liberabimur: iam in hoc respirare licet. Sed in altiore speculam ascendentes, quaeramus civitatem Dei, quaeramus templum, quaeramus domum, quaeramus sponsam^b. Non oblitus sum^c: sed cum metu et reverentia dico, Nos inquam sumus: sed in corde Dei. Nos sumus: sed illius dignatione, non nostra dignitate.

a) 1543–50 tamen b) VG 1545 sqq. le secret du mariage qu'il a avec nous c) Non–sum: VG 1545 sqq. en ce faisant nous n'oblirons point l'un pour l'autre

C.X

- a* Bernardus vero, Et re vera, ubi tuta firmaque infirmis requies et securitas, nisi in vulneribus Salvatoris? tanto illic securior habito, quanto potentior est ad salvandum. Fremit mundus, premit corpus, diabolus insidiatur. Non cado, quia fundatus sum supra firmam petram. Peccavi peccatum grave. Turbatur conscientia: sed non perturbabitur, quia vulnere Domini recordabor [Super cant. serm. 61].
- b* Postea ex iis concludit, Meritum proinde meum miseratio Domini; non sum plane meriti inops, quandiu non fuerit ille inops miseratio-num. Quod si misericordiae Domini multae, multus ergo^d peraeque sum in meritis. Nunquid iustitias meas cantabo? Domine meminero iustitiae tuae solius. Ipsa enim est et mea, nempe factus est mihi iustitia a Deo.
- c* Item alibi, Hoc totum hominis meritum, si totam spem ponat in eum qui totum hominem salvum facit [In Psal.^e Qui habit. ser. 15].

d) 1543–50 ego e) In Ps. > 1543–54

C. XI

Bernardus quoque, Quis poterit salvus esse? dicunt discipuli Christi. At ille, Apud homines impossibile hoc est, sed non apud Deum. Haec tota fiducia nostra, haec unica consolatio, haec tota ratio spei nostrae. Sed de possibilitate certi, de voluntate quid agimus? Quis scit an odio vel amore dignus sit [Eccles. 9. a. 1]? Quis cognovit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit [1. Cor. 2. d. 16]? Hic iam plane fidem nobis subvenire necesse est: hic oportet succurrere veritatem: ut quod de nobis latet in corde Patris, per Spiritum reveletur, et Spiritus eius testificans persuadeat cordibus nostris quod filii Dei sumus. Persuadeat autem vocando et iustificando gratis per fidem: in quibus nimirum velut medius quidam transitus est ab aeterna praedestinatione ad futuram gloriam [Serm. 5. in dedicat. templi.]^a

a) [Serm. -]: 1553-61 *supra ante* [Eccles. -] *exstat*.

C. XII

- a* Citavi quidem antea ex Bernardo sententiam^a, Ut ad meritum satis est de meritis non praesumere: sic carere meritis, satis est ad iudicium [supra canti. sermo.^b 68].
- b* Sed continuo addita interpretatione, duritiem vocis satis emollit, quum dicit, Proinde merita habere cures: habita, data noveris: fructum speres Dei misericordiam: et omne periculum evasisti, paupertatis, ingratitude, praesumptionis. Foelix Ecclesia cui nec merita sine praesumptione, nec praesumptio sine meritis deest.
- c* Et paulo ante abunde ostenderat quam pio sensu uteretur. Nam de meritis, inquit, quid sollicita sit Ecclesia, cui de proposito Dei firmior securiorque existit gloriandi ratio? non potest seipsum negare Deus: faciet quod promisit. Sic^c non est quod quaeras, quibus meritis speremus bona? praesertim quum audias, Non propter vos, sed propter me [Ezech. 36. e. 22, f. 32]. Sufficit ad meritum, scire quod non sufficiant merita.

a) Cit.-sent: 1543-54 Dicit quidem alicubi Bernardus b) cant. ser.> 1559 c) sic 1543-54; 1559-61 *falso* Si

C. XIII

Tempore Bernardi res aliquanto magis prolapsae erant: sed videmus etiam quam acerbis obiurgationibus invehatur in totum ordinem: quem tamen credibile est fuisse tunc non paulo integriorem quam nunc sit.

C.XIV

- a* Itaque videmus qualis fuerit et quam prodigiosa Romae omnium sacrorum profanatio, et totius Ecclesiastici ordinis dissipatio Bernardi aetate.
- b* Conqueritur ex toto orbe Romam confluere ambitiosos, avaros, simoniacos, sacrilegos, concubinariorum, incestuosos, et quaeque istiusmodi monstra, ut Apostolica autoritate vel obtinerent honores Ecclesiasticos vel retinerent [Lib. 1. De conside. ad Eugenium]:
- c* fraudem, et circumventionem, et violentiam invaluisse. Eum iudicandi modum qui tunc usitatus erat, execrabilem esse dicit: nec modo Ecclesiae, sed foro indecorum. Clamat plenam esse ambitiosis Ecclesiam: nec esse qui magis exhorreat flagitia perpetrare quam latrones in spelunca quum spolia viatorum distribuunt.
- d* Pauci (inquit) ad os legislatoris: ad manus omnes respiciunt. Non immerito tamen. Omne Papale negotium illae^c agunt [Circa finem libri 4].
- e* Quale est quod de spoliis ecclesiarum emuntur, qui dicunt tibi, Euge, euge? pauperum vita in plateis divitum seminatur: argentum micat in luto: accurritur undique: tollit illud non pauperior, sed fortior: aut qui forte citius praecurrit. A te tamen mos iste, vel potius mors ista, non venit; utinam in te desinat. Inter haec tu pastor procedis, multo et pretioso circumdatus ornatu. Si auderem dicere, daemonum magis quam ovium pascua haec. Scilicet sic factitabat Petrus: sic Paulus ludebat.
- f* Curia tua recipere bonos magis quam facere consuevit. Mali enim illic non proficiunt, sed boni deficiunt.
- g* Iam quos appellationum abusus refert, nemo pius sine magno horrore legat [Lib. 3].
- h* Tandem sic de effraeni illa Romanae sedis cupiditate in iurisdictione usurpanda concludit, Murmur loquor et querimoniam communem Ecclesiarum. Truncari se clamitant ac demembrari. Vel nullae vel paucae admodum sunt quae plagam istam aut non doleant, aut non timeant. Quaeris quam? subtrahuntur Abbates Episcopis, Episcopi Archiepiscopis, etc. Mirum si excusari hoc queat. Sic factitando, probatis vos habere plenitudinem potestatis: sed iustitiae non ita. Facitis hoc quia potestis, sed utrum etiam debeatis quaestio est. Ad honorem quibusque suum gradumque conservandum positi estis, non invidendum.
- i* Haec pauca ex multis referre libuit, ut partim videant lectores quam graviter tunc Ecclesia concidisset, partim etiam ut agnoscant, quanto in moerore ac gemitu pios omnes tenuerit isthaec calamitas.

c) 1543 illi

C.XV

- a* Verum ne singula persequi et excutere cogar, iterum istos appello qui hodie Romanae sedis patroni et optimi et fidelissimi haberi volunt, ecquid pudeat ipsos praesentem statum Papatus defendere: quem constat centuplo corruptionem esse quam Gregorii et Bernardi seculis fuerit: qui tamen tunc sanctis illis viris tantopere displicebat.
- b* Bernardus vero quas fundit querimonias, quos edit gemitus dum suae aetatis vitia intuetur? Quid igitur, si hoc nostrum ferreum seculum, et siquid est ferro deterius, inspiceret^b? Quae ista est improbitas, non modo pertinaciter tueri velut sacrosanctum ac divinum, quod uno ore sancti omnes semper improbarunt: sed eorum quoque testimonio abuti ad defensionem Papatus, quem constat fuisse illis prorsus incognitum? Quanquam de tempore Bernardi fateor tantam fuisse tunc corruptionem rerum omnium, ut non fuerit multum nostro dissimile.

b Quid—insp.: *VG 1545 sqq.* Que droit-il donc sil voyoit (*VG 1545–51* véoit) ce qui se fait de ce temps, auquel la mechanceté sest débordée du tout, comme en un deluge

C.XVI

- a* Primum cum Bernardo respondeo, Esto ut alia quacunque ratione hoc sibi vendicet, non tamen Apostolico iure. Neque enim Petrus quod non habuit dare potuit: sed dedit successoribus quod habebat, sollicitudinem Ecclesiarum [*Lib. De consider. 2^c*].
- b* Quum vero dicat Dominus ac Magister, se non esse constitutum inter duos iudicem [*Luc. 12. b. 14*], non debet servo ac discipulo indignum videri, si non iudicet universos.
- c* Loquitur autem Bernardus de iudiciis civilibus: subiungit enim^f, Ergo in criminibus, non in possessionibus potestas vestra: quoniam propter illa, non propter has accepistis claves regni caelorum. Quenam tibi videtur maior dignitas, dimittendi peccata, an praedia dividendi? nulla comparatio. Habent haec infima et terrena iudices suos, Reges et Principes terrae. Quid fines alienos invaditis? etc.
- d* Item, Factus es superior (Eugenium papam alloquitur) ad quid? non enim ad dominandum, opinor. Nos igitur, ut multum sentiamus de nobis, meminerimus impositum ministerium, non dominium datum. Disce sarculo tibi opus esse, non sceptro, ut opus facias Prophetarum [*Lib. De consider. 2*]^a.
- e* Item, Planum est, Apostolis interdicitur dominatus. I ergo tu, et tibi usurpare aude aut dominans Apostolatam, aut Apostolicus dominatum.

- f* Et continuo post, Forma Apostolica haec est, dominatio interdicatur: indicitur ministratio.
- g* Haec quum ab homine sic dicta sint ut ipsam veritatem loqui omnibus palam sit, imo quum sine ullis verbis res ipsa pateat: nihil tamen puduit Romanum Pontificem in Concilio Arelatensi decernere, supremum ius utriusque gladii sibi competere iure divino.

e) *sic 1543–54; 1559–61 falso* 25 *f) VG 1545 sqq. + parlant au Pape* a) 1553–54 [Ibidem.]

C.XVII

Item cum Bernardo, ² meritum omne nostrum esse miserationes Domini: vel, ut clarius loquamur, concludimus, post Basilium Magnum, . . .

2) Bern. serm. 6. super cantica.

C.XVIII

- a* Saint Bernard: La douceur qu'ont maintenant les ames des saintz est grande, mais elle n'est pas encore parfaite: car elle se parfera quand ilz seront assis sur les thrones comme iuges. Quand elles sont despouillées de leur corps, elles sont incontinent introduites à repos, mais non point à la gloire du Royaume.
- b* Et au sermon suyvnt il poursuit encor ce propos, disant qu'il y a troys estatz de l'ame. Le premier au corps, comme en un tabernacle, le second apres la mort, commé au portail du temple, le troisieme au ciel avec son corps glorieux.
- c* Qui en voudra savoir d'avantage, qu'il lise le second et le troisieme sermon du iour de tous les saintz.

C.XIX

- a* Bernardus vero, homiliis duabus habitis in festo omnium sanctorum, ubi ex professo hanc quaestionem tractat, sanctorum animas corporibus exutas, adhuc in atriis Domini stare docet, ad requiem admissas, non autem ad gloriam.
- b* In illam, inquit, beatissimam domum nec sine nobis intrabunt, nec sine corporibus suis: id est, nec sancti sine plebe, nec spiritus sine carne.
- c* Et multa alia in hanc sententiam.
- d* Qui autem in coelo eas collocant, modo non attribuant illis resurrectionis gloriam, nihil ab ea sententia dissident: sicut Augustinus ipse facere alicubi videtur.

C.XX

Quales etiam fuerunt multi ex sanctis, Cyprianus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, et similes: adde etiam si libet, ex recentioribus, Gregorium et Bernardum, aliosque eius notae, qui, quum haberent hoc propositum ut in Christo aedificarent, a recta tamen aedificandi ratione saepe aberrarunt. Tales dicit Paulus salvos fieri posse, sed hac lege, si Dominus eorum ignorantiam absternerit, et repurgaverit eos ab omni sorde.

C.XXI

Praeclare enim Bernardus: ² Fidem hic nobis subvenire necesse est: hic oportet succurrere veritatem: ut quod de nobis latet in corde patris, per spiritum reveletur: et spiritus persuadeat cordibus nostris, quod filii Dei simus. Persuadeat autem, vocando et iustificando gratis per fidem.

2) Serm. 5. in dedic. templi.

C.XXII

Nam, ut praeclare Bernardus, si turbetur conscientia, non perturbabitur, vulnere Domini memor. ¹ Illic enim tuta firmaque infirmis requies, et securitas.

1) Super cantica serm. 16.

C.XXIII

Scribit Bernardus, communem suo tempore fuisse querimoniam, truncari et mutilari ecclesias, quod romanus episcopus omnium potestatem ad se trahendo ordines confunderet. ³

3) Bernard. de consid. ad Eugen. libr. 3.

C.XXIV

Atque ut taceamus de brevitate temporis, illa Bernardi admonitio memoratu digna est: Quum tam horribile praecipitium in paradiso accidissemus, quid nos facturi sumus in sterquilinio?

C.XXV

Il est vray que par honneur ils diront bien saint Augustin, saint Ambroise, S. Bernard nos peres: mais quand on leur allegue ce qui est là trouvé de bon, ils les detestent: que s'ils les tenoyent aujourd'huy, ils seroyent aussi bien

bruslez que les Martyrs lesquels nous voyons estre si cruellement traittez par les papistes.

C.XXVI

Quod genus hostium, (ut dicit Bernardus) neque fugere neque fugare datur.

C.XXVII

Itaque recte Bernardus ianuam salutis aperiri nobis docet, quum hodie Evangelium auribus recipimus: sicuti illis fenestris, dum Satanæ patuerunt, mors admissa fuit^a.

a) ianuam—fuit: *VG 1560* que la porte de salut est en noz oreilles quand nous recevons l'Evangile, comme c'ont esté les fenestres pour recevoir la mort

C.XXVIII

- a Augustino subscribens Bernardus ita scribit, Solus homo inter animalia liber: et tamen interveniente peccato, patitur quandam vim et ipse: sed a voluntate, non a natura, ut ne sic quidem ingenita libertate privetur. Quod enim voluntarium, etiam liberum.
- b Et paulo post, Ita nescio quo pravo et miro modo ipsa sibi voluntas peccato quidem in deterius mutata, necessitatem facit, ut nec necessitas (quum voluntaria sit) excusare valeat voluntatem, nec voluntas (quum sit illecta) excludere necessitatem. Est enim necessitas haec quodammodo voluntaria.
- c Postea dicit nos premi iugo, non alio tamen quam voluntariae cuiusdam servitutis: ideo pro servitute esse miserabiles, pro voluntate inexcusabiles: quia voluntas, quum libera esset, servam se peccati fecit.
- d Tandem concludit, Ita anima miro quodam et malo modo sub hac voluntaria quadam ac male libera necessitate et ancilla tenetur et libera: ancilla, propter necessitatem: libera propter voluntatem: et, quod magis mirum magisque miserum est, ideo rea, quod libera: eoque ancilla, quo rea: ac per hoc, eo ancilla, quo libera [Serm. super Cantica 81.].
- e Hinc certe agnoscunt lectores nihil me novum afferre, quod olim ex priorum omnium consensu prodidit Augustinus, et mille fere annis postea in claustris monachorum retentum fuit.

C.XXIX

Cui consentit Bernardus, Ecclesiam ita loquentem inducens, Trahe quodam-

modo invitam, ut facias voluntariam: trahe torpentem ut reddas currentem [Serm. 2. in Can.].

C.XXX

quod idem Bernardus quoque scite docet, nos ideo miseriores esse, quod voluntaria est necessitas: quae tamen nos sibi addictos ita constringit, ut servi simus peccati, sicuti ante retulimus [Ser. 81. in Cantica.].

C.XXXI

sed ne foveat in nobis ignaviam, sic Dei actionem cum nostra conciliat ut velle sit a natura, bene autem velle a gratia.

C.XXXII

Et memoratu digna est illa Bernardi admonitio, non modo lucem sed cibum quoque esse nomen Iesu: oleum etiam esse, sine quo aridus est omnis animae^c cibus: salem esse, sine cuius conditura insipidum est quicquid proponitur^d: denique esse mel in ore, in aure melos, in corde iubilum, et simil medicinam: et quicquid disputatur insulsum esse, nisi ubi sonat hoc nomen [Bern. in Cant. Serm. 15].

c) > VG 1560 d) sine-prop.: VG 1560 pour donner goust et saveur à toute doctrine, qui autrement seroit fade

C.XXXIII

a Quanto rectius Bernardus: Testimonium, inquit, conscientiae, quod piorum gloriam vocat Paulus [2. Cor. 1. c. 12], in tribus consistere credo. Necesse enim primo omnium est, credere quod remissionem peccatorum habere non possis nisi per indulgentiam Dei: deinde quod nihil prorsus habere queas operis boni nisi et hoc dederit ipse: postremo quod vitam aeternam nullis potes operibus promereri nisi gratis detur et illa [Sermo 1. in Annuntiatione].

b Paulo post subiicit, haec non sufficere, sed esse quoddam fidei initium: quia credendo peccata non posse remitti nisi a Deo, simul tenere oporteat remissa nobis esse donec etiam Spiritus sancti testimonio persuasi simus salutem nobis esse repositam: quia Deus peccata condonat, merita ipse donat, et praemia idem redonat, non posse gradum in illo principio figere.

C.XXXIV

Qua de re utilis etiam est admonitio Bernardi, Necessarius dolor pro peccatis si non sit continuus. Suadeo reflectere pedem interdum a molesta et anxia

recordatione viarum vestrarum, et evadere ad planitiem serenae memoriae beneficiorum Dei. Misceamus absynthio mel, ut salubris amaritudo salutem dare queat: cum immisto dulcore temperata bibetur: et si de vobis in humilitate sentitis, sentite et de Domino in bonitate [Ser. 11. in Cant.].

C.XXXV

- a Cui respondent praeclarae Bernardi sententiae, Non peccare, Dei iustitia est: hominis autem iustitia, Dei indulgentia [Serm. 23. in Cant.].
- b Ante autem asseruerat, Christum nobis esse iustitiam in absolutione, ideoque solos esse iustos, qui veniam ex misericordia consequuti sunt [Serm. 22.].

C.XXXVI

- a Similiter ubi pacem sibi retinens, gloriam relinquit Deo. Tibi, inquit, illibata maneat gloria: mecum bene agitur si pacem habuero. Abiuro gloriam prorsus: ne si usurpavero quod meum non est, perdam et oblatum [Serm. 13. in Cant.].
- b Apertius etiam alio loco, De meritis quid sollicita sit Ecclesia? cui de proposito Dei firmior suppetit securiorque gloriandi ratio? Sic non est quod quaeras, quibus meritis speremus bona: praesertim quum audias apud Prophetam, Non propter vos faciam, sed propter me, dicit Dominus [Ezech. 36. e. 22. f. 32]. Sufficit ad meritum scire quod non sufficiant merita: sed ut ad meritum satis est de meritis non praesumere, sic carere meritis satis ad iudicium est [Serm. 68]^a.
- c Quod merita libere usurpat pro bonis operibus ignoscendum est consuetudini. In fine vero^b consilium eius fuit terrere hypocritas, qui peccandi licentia contra Dei gratiam proterviunt: sicuti mox se explicat, Foelix Ecclesia cui nec merita sine praesumptione, nec praesumptio absque meritis deest. Habet unde praesumat, sed non merita. Habet merita, sed ad promerendum, non praesumendum. Ipsum non praesumere nonne promereri est? Ergo eo praesumit securius quo non praesumit, cui ampla materies gloriandi est, misericordiae Domini multae.

a) [Serm.—]: 1559–61 *supra ante* [Ez.—32] *exstat*.⁷⁵⁵ b) In—vero: VG 1560 et en condamnant ceux qui n'ont point de merites

⁷⁵⁵ Note a) does not appear to make sense. First, there are so many differences in the positioning of marginal references not noted by OS that there appears to be no reason for noting this one. Second, the marginal reference to Serm. 68 is in fact in the normal position, at the beginning of the relevant citation.

C.XXXVII

Cui pulchre succinit Bernardus, servis infidis comparans superbos, qui meritis suis vel minimum arrogat: quia laudem gratiae per se transeuntis improbe retinent, perinde acsi paries radium se parturire dicat quem suscipit per fenestram [Ser. 13. in Can.].

C.XXXVIII

Quid quod nobis inde emergit Ecclesia, quae alioqui, ut recte docet Bernardus, non posset inveniri, nec inter creaturas agnosci? quia miro utroque modo latet intra gremium beatæ prædestinationis, et intra massam miseræ damnationis [Serm. in Can. 78].

C.XXXIX

- a Recte enim Bernardus, Amici (inquit) seorsum audiunt, quibus et loquitur, Nolite timere pusille grex: quia vobis datum est nosse mysterium regni caelorum. Qui sunt hi? Utique quos præscivit et prædestinavit conformes fieri imagini Filii sui; magnum secretumque innotuit consilium, Novit Dominus qui sui sint, sed quod notum erat Deo, manifestatum est hominibus: nec alios sane dignatur tanti participatione mysterii, nisi eos ipsos quos fore suos præscivit et prædestinavit [Ad Thomam præpositum Benerlae^a, epist. 107]
- b Paulo post concludit, Misericordia Dei ab aeterno usque ad aeternum super timentes eum: ab aeterno, ob prædestinationem: in aeternum, ob beatificationem: altera principium, altera finem nesciens.
- c Sed quid Bernardum citare testem opus est, quando ex magistri ore audimus, non alios videre nisi qui sunt ex Deo [Iohan. 6. e. 46]?

a) 1559–61 *falso*: Benerlae

C.XL

- a Qua de re apposite Bernardus; postquam enim de reprobis loquutus est, Stat (inquit) propositum Dei, stat sententia pacis super timentes eum, ipsorum et dissimulans mala, et remunerans bona: ut miro modo eis non modo bona, sed et mala cooperentur in bonum. Quis accusabit electos Dei? sufficit mihi ad omnem iustitiam, solum habere propitium cui soli peccavi. Omne quod mihi ipse non imputare decrevit, sic est quasi non fuerit.
- b Et paulo post, O verae quietis locus, et quem non immerito cubiculi appellatione censuerim, in quo Deus non quasi turbatus ira, nec velut dis-

tentus cura prospicitur, sed probatur voluntas eius in eo bona et beneplacens et perfecta. Visio ista non terret, sed mulcet: inquietam curiositatem non excitat sed sedat: nec fatigat sensus, sed tranquillat. Hic vere quiescitur. Tranquillus Deus tranquillat omnia, et quietum aspicere quiescere est.

C.XLI

Bernardi quidem aetate, etsi durior invaluerat loquendi ratio, transsubstantiatio tamen nondum agnita erat.

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